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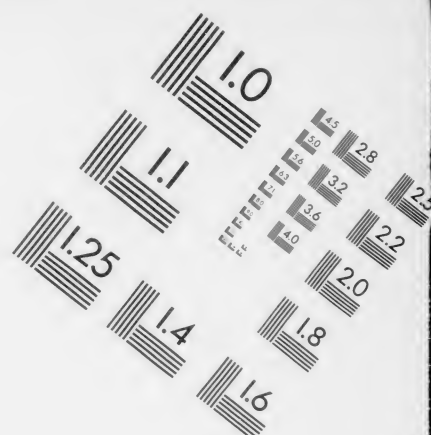
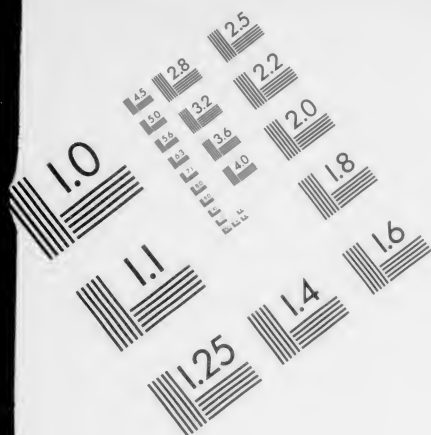


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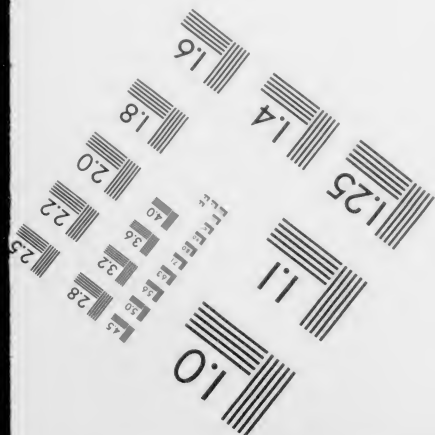
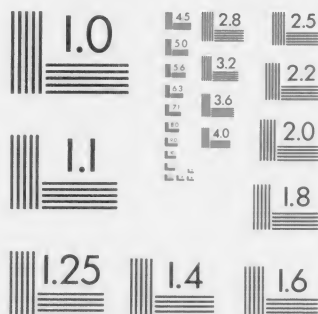
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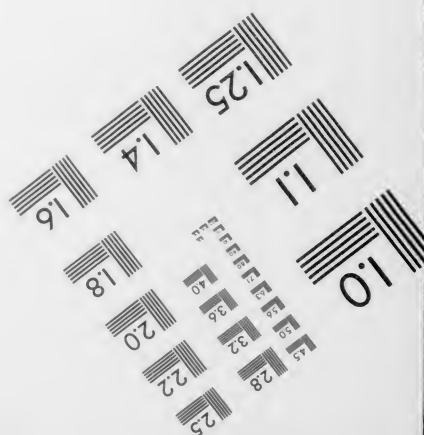
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THE *ORESTEIA* OF AESCHYLUS AS ILLUSTRATED
BY GREEK VASE-PAINTING

By HETTY GOLDMAN

Printed from the
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THE *ORESTEIA* OF AESCHYLUS AS ILLUSTRATED BY
GREEK VASE-PAINTING¹

BY HETTY GOLDMAN

IN the discussion of Greek vase-painting the statement that no artist ever sought to produce an illustration of any given literary form of a myth, that should be slavishly faithful in every detail, has acquired the value of an axiom. It is generally conceded that, even when the artist had a definite poetic version in mind, he felt at liberty to let his own imagination play about the subject, introducing or discarding figures of secondary importance merely on the basis of personal preference, or because the composition demanded it for the proper filling of space and the maintenance of that finely adjusted sense of balance which succeeded to the rigid symmetry of early painting and was not wholly lost even when the potter's art ceased to flourish on Attic soil. But just when a vase-painter may be said, in spite of a certain amount of license in treatment, to have been inspired by a definite literary model and when to show a complete independence of it cannot be so easily determined. Walters, for example, says that "The influence of Tragedy on vase-paintings is an indirect one, and entirely confined to the vases of Southern Italy on the one hand, and to the plays of Euripides on the other";² and those who accept this statement must, in consequence, refuse to see any connection between the *Oresteia* of Aeschylus and the numerous vases of later date dealing with the same subject.

Influence of one art upon another, however, is of a subtle nature and manifests itself in a variety of ways. The painter may reflect in his work the actual scenic production of a play, and show reminiscences of the grouping of the actors, the costumes, and the stage-setting. Then again, he may follow the myth in a more general fashion, either reproducing a definite moment in the action, but composing the picture

¹ This article is the thesis presented by the successful candidate for the Charles Eliot Norton Fellowship in Greek Studies for 1910-11.

² Walters, *History of Ancient Pottery*, Vol. II, p. 162.

according to the traditions of his own art, or trying by a synthetic treatment to suggest rather the play as a whole than any specific scene. After the middle of the fifth century the Greek vase-painter was more given to this latter method. He grouped his composition rather loosely, and we look in vain among his works for any conception of such concentrated dramatic intensity as that of the murder of Aegisthus on pre-Aeschylean vases. Finally the treatment of a myth by a popular dramatist may cause the vase-painter to identify certain general types with the particular story. That some such thing happened in the case of the scene in the *Choephoroi* in which Electra and Orestes meet at the tomb of their father, I hope to prove. The history of this composition, which has at its centre the figure of a woman seated in an attitude of dejection on the steps of a tomb, offers, in the variety of its application to different subjects, a striking example of the peculiar tenacity with which the vase-painter clung to a type when once created, and of his talent for combining a comparatively limited number of elements in an infinite variety of ways. But more of this when the *Choephoroi* is under discussion. I wish now to take up the three plays of the *Oresteia* and see whether they stand in any relation with vase-painting subsequent to the production of the trilogy in 458 B.C., and also, in a few cases of exceptional interest, with works of an earlier date.

The *Agamemnon*, however, offers practically no material for this study. The reason must, I think, be sought in the play itself; and while conceding the possibility that vases dealing with the home-coming of Agamemnon and his murder at the hands of his wife may yet be brought to light, I doubt whether at any time the vase-painter found in this a subject suited to his needs. Unlike both the *Choephoroi* and the *Eumenides*, the *Agamemnon* offers no single stage picture that, either by length of duration or novelty of elements, tends to impress itself upon the imagination with lasting force. In the *Choephoroi* the meeting of the brother and sister works up gradually to the climax of the recognition, and during the long kommos in which the spirit of the dead is invoked and the living nerved to their work of vengeance, Orestes and Electra, standing at either side of the grave¹ or grouped in some way

¹ T. G. Tucker in his edition of the *Choephoroi*, p. xxxvii, gives the following stage directions: "The scenic grouping appears to be this. At the foot of the mound, to

on its steps, must have presented to the eyes of the spectator a veritable *tableau*, which the vase-painter could, if he wished, take over and reproduce on the surface of his pottery. In the *Eumenides*, after the two speeches of the Pythian priestess,—the one merely an introductory prayer, the other descriptive of the horrors she has witnessed within the sanctuary,—the interior of the temple is revealed and the group, terrible in its effect, of the distraught and blood-flecked Orestes clinging to the navel stone in the midst of the sleeping furies, is suddenly flashed upon the vision of the spectators.¹ Here, indeed, was a picture that through the medium of the emotions it aroused, etched itself upon the very souls of the spectators. The *Agamemnon* offers no single moment that can compare with either of these for pictorial effect. Splendid as must have been the entrance of Agamemnon from a spectacular point of view, with the prophetess Cassandra mounted upon the chariot and the host of warriors and townspeople following the home-coming lord, it depended for its effect, in all probability, on those very elements that the vase-painter was least able to reproduce,—the shifting play of color and the restless movement of the crowd. With the entrance of Clytemnestra commences a scene of unequalled tragic horror, but of a horror not patent to the senses. Into the tissue of her highly colored address she weaves a dark thread of sinister meaning and creates before our eyes that web of words with which she strangles the suspicions of the king, even as later she ensnares his limbs with the net of her devising, the ἀπειρον ἀμφίβληστρον. No kindred art, much less that of the mere decorator of vases, could hope to reproduce this scene.

But when we come to the actual murder, which Clytemnestra describes with perfect directness and terrible clarity, we might expect

either hand, stands the chorus, with the Coryphaeus in the middle. At the summit on one side of the monument stands Orestes, and on the other Electra." Perhaps the less formal arrangement found on the terra cotta relief in Berlin, published in *Monumenti Inediti dell' Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*, VI, pl. 57, 2, might be considered equally appropriate and somewhat more suggestive of the mood of exaltation that pervades the scene. Pylades sits on the lowest step of the grave monument. Above are Orestes and Electra with arms entwined. Orestes draws his sword, to dedicate it at his father's tomb.

¹ Scholium to *Eum.* 64: στραφέντα γὰρ μηχανήματα ἐνδὸν ποιεῖ τὰ κατὰ τὸ μαντεῖον ὡς ἔχει· καὶ γίνεται ὅψις τραγικὴ, τὸ μὲν ξίφος ἡμαγμένον ἐπὶ κατέχων Ὀρέστης, αἱ δὲ κύκλῳ φρουροῦσαι αὐτόν.

to find the subject treated by the vase-painter. Scenes of conflict were of the kind that both sculptor and painter delighted in depicting. And yet we have only two vases that can, with any fair amount of probability, be connected with the subject, and these are quite unrelated to the drama of Aeschylus. A small picture in the interior of an Attic cylix (II)¹ is imbued with considerable dramatic feeling. It has the essential element of suspense. We see Clytemnestra bent on the destruction of her husband, rushing, axe in hand, towards the bathroom door. But, apart from the fact that the vase has all the characteristics of the severe red-figured style and can hardly be dated later than about 470 B.C., the weapon that she carries in the play of Aeschylus is a sword,² not an axe.³ The other picture (III) shows a woman threatening a fallen warrior with an axe or a kind of flail.⁴ The most, I think, that can be said is that this may represent a very much generalized version of the murder, although the youth of the warrior and the fact that he is helmeted argue against this interpretation. The flying drapery is introduced solely to give weight to the left half of the composition, quite in the manner of the Parthenon metopes or the Dexileos monument, and cannot be supposed to represent the garment in which Agamemnon was entangled. Here then there is nothing to suggest Aeschylean influence, although the vase was painted after the production of the trilogy.

But may there not, after all, be something in the manner of Agamemnon's death that made it, artistically speaking, an undesirable subject for the vase-painter? I think an examination of the only extant monuments on which this is faithfully portrayed will supply the answer.

¹ The Roman numerals refer to the list of monuments on pp. 155 ff.

² Aesch. *Cho.* 1010 f.: μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι
φᾶρος τὸδ', ὡς ἔβαψεν Ἀγέλαθου ξίφος.

Ag. 1529 f.: ξιφοδηλήτω
θανάτῳ τίσας ἄπερ ἤρξεν.

The references are to Sidgwick's *Aeschylus* (Oxford Classical texts). See Warr, on "Clytemnestra's weapon," in *Class. Rev.* XII (1898), 348 ff.

³ Robert, *Bild und Lied*, p. 178, refers the picture to the *Oresteia* of Stesichorus.

⁴ Pottier, on the analogy of a group on the Ilupersis cylix (Louvre G 152), published in Furtwängler und Reichhold, *Die griechische Vasenmalerei*, pl. 34, sees in this picture Andromache slaying a Greek. The type is certainly the same, but it does not seem necessary, on that account, to consider the subjects identical.

A series of Etruscan cinerary urns¹ represent the murder of Agamemnon. They do not, it is true, accord strictly with the Aeschylean version, for here Aegisthus is the actual perpetrator of the deed and Clytemnestra merely comes to his aid armed with a piece of furniture resembling a foot-stool, snatched up under the sudden impulsion of passion and hate. But this divergence, fundamental from a mythological and dramatic point of view, is negligible in a discussion of the composition of the scene. On the best of these as regards artistic merit (IV), Agamemnon, his head and arms completely involved in the encumbering garment, has fled to the household altar, where Aegisthus, sword in hand, seizes him from the left, while Clytemnestra runs up from the other side, ready to dash against the ensnared victim the foot-stool she holds raised above her head. A winged Fury with drawn sword to the left and a servant hiding in terror behind the open door to the right complete the composition. The picture is well conceived, has dramatic unity, and is executed with considerable boldness and life, and yet the total effect is far from pleasing. What in the telling makes a supremely pathetic appeal, the helpless entanglement in a treacherous garment of the mighty hero whose foot, in the words of his faithless wife, had trampled Ilium,² when presented to the eye, fails entirely to arouse a similar emotion. This muffled figure, stationary save for the feeble effort at resistance made with the right arm, if taken by itself, is essentially unbeautiful, and when protruded into the very centre of a scene of violent action breaks that rhythmic movement upon which the inner harmony of the composition depends quite as much as upon the proper balance and disposition of parts. On another urn (V), where the garment is thrown over the head of the seated Agamemnon in a manner to suggest rather a passive than a helplessly entangled figure, the effect is nothing short of ludicrous.³ Even admitting that

¹ Brunn, *Urne Etrusche*, I, pl. LXXIV, LXXXV, 4.

² Ag. 906 f.: μὴ χαμᾶι τίθεις
τὸν σὸν πόδ', ὦναξ, Ἴλου πορθήτορα.

³ A detailed discussion of the urns hardly falls within the scope of this article, but I should like to suggest that this picture, in which Clytemnestra alone makes the attack on Agamemnon, is in reality no more dependent on Aeschylus than the others. It is merely an abbreviation of the larger scene, as is evident from the fact that here, too, she carries the foot-stool, a weapon with which she could hardly be supposed to carry out a murder single-handed.

a Greek vase-painter might have treated the subject with more skill than the Etruscan artisans who made the cinerary urns, he could never, I think, have worked it into a telling and harmonious group. And it must be remembered that the superiority of the Greek to the Etruscan consisted, at least in part, in the avoidance of essentially inartistic subjects. The Etruscan attempted everything, the Greek only what was best suited to the medium in which he worked. It may not be going too far in speculation to suggest that, had the scene been actually represented and the net, the δίκτυον Ἰδίου, introduced, it would have been done somewhat in the manner of Polygnotus, who reduced all such artistically discordant elements to a refined, but vague, and, it must be added, according to modern feeling, rather meaningless symbolism. To us the figure of a woman in a swing would fail adequately to suggest the tragic end of Phaedra by hanging, or two youths seated on a rock the punishment of Theseus and Pirithöus in the lower world.¹

But if the first drama of the trilogy fails to show any point of contact with subsequent vase-painting, it has at least one retrospective reference that throws an interesting light on the persistence of types in ancient art. I think there can be little doubt that, in the passage describing the sacrifice of Iphigenia, Aeschylus is recalling, and not creating, a picture; and if this be so, the central group of a composition, already so well known in the year 458 B.C. that Aeschylus could stimulate the interest of his spectators by a reference to it, reappears on a wall-painting at Pompei. The poet says:²

φράσεν δ' ἄόζοις πατήρ μετ' εὐχὰν
 δίκαν χαμαίρας ὑπερθε βωμοῦ
 πέπλοισι περιπετῇ παντὶ θυμῷ
 προνωπῇ λαβεῖν ἀέρ-
 δην, στόματός τε καλλιπρώ-
 ρου φυλακῇ κατασχεῖν
 φθόγγον ἀραῖον οἴκοις,
 βίᾳ χαλινῶν τ' ἀναύδῳ μένει.
 κρόκου βαφὰς δ' ἐς πέδον χέουσα
 ἔβαλλ' ἑκαστον θυγῆ-
 ρων ἀπ' ὀμματος βέλει φιλοίκτης,

¹ Pausanias 10, 29, 3 and 9.

² *Ag.* 231 ff.

πρέπουσά θ' ὡς ἐν γραφαῖς, προσενέπειν
 θέλουσ', ἐπεὶ πολλάκις
 πατὴρ κατ' ἀνδρῶνας εὐτραπέζους
 ἔμελεν, κτλ.

Apart from the distinct reference in πρέπουσά θ' ὡς ἐν γραφαῖς, I think there may be a reminiscence of the painting in the words κρόκου βαφὰς. Aeschylus uses adjectives of color very sparingly, although it must be added, on the other hand, that a saffron robe was the conventional dress of royal maidens.¹

The Pompeian wall-painting (I) in which Iphigenia is raised by two attendants in the manner described by Aeschylus has certain characteristics that mark it as an eclectic composition. There is in the whole a rather formal but by no means obtrusive symmetry, and although the figure of the nymph bringing the stag is clearly introduced in order to balance that of Artemis, this is done in no mechanical fashion. The goddess, who, enthroned upon the clouds, has been watching the preparations for the sacrifice, seems suddenly, upon the more merciful promptings of her heart, to summon her attendant with the stag by an imperious gesture. The nymph arrives with streaming hair and swelling draperies that indicate the rapidity of her flight, while below the praying maiden and hesitating seer seem to hear, although they do not comprehend, the saving presence. Furthermore, the entire absence of background in the picture, when taken in conjunction with the symmetrical arrangement of the central group, argues for an early prototype. These are characteristics of the art of the fifth century; but the attitude of Agamemnon suggests at once the famous picture by Timanthes of Sicyon, in which the painter, having expressed in the surrounding characters every gradation of sorrow and horror at the cruel fate of the maiden, veiled from the eyes of the spectators the father's inexpressible grief. The Pompeian artist, therefore, appears to have combined elements from Greek art of the fifth and the early fourth century.² That he has succeeded in fusing them one can hardly maintain. The very introduction of the veiled Agamemnon into this scene rests upon a misunderstanding of the

¹ Cf. Eur. *Phoenissae* 1491 (Dindorf). Antigone says: στολὶδα κροκόεσσαν ἀνείσα τρυφᾶς.

² The date of Timanthes is usually given as about 400 B.C.

original painting of Timanthes. What impressed and puzzled the ancient critics in the painting of Timanthes was not the fact that the face was veiled in grief, but that the painter had chosen this means of depicting the climax of grief. Pliny says:¹ "Iphigenia oratorum laudibus celebrata, qua stante ad aras peritura cum maestos pinxisset omnis praecipueque patrum et tristitiae omnem imaginem consumpsisset, patris ipsius vultum velavit quem digne non poterat ostendere." Quintilian alone seems to have understood that the peculiarly moving power of this manner of portraying excessive emotion lay in its appeal to the imagination, for he says:² "Nam cum in Iphigeniae immolatione pinxisset tristem Calchantem, tristiores Ulixen, addidisset Menelao quem summum poterat ars efficere maerorem, consumptis affectibus non reperiens quo digne modo patris vultum posset exprimere, velavit eius caput, et suo cuique animo dedit aestimandum." Furthermore, logically speaking, the father can abandon himself wholly to grief only when, as in the *Iphigenia at Aulis* of Euripides and the painting of Timanthes, the daughter acquiesces in her fate. But in the Pompeian fresco she pours forth her complaints to heaven and Agamemnon ought to forget his grief, as he does in the play of Aeschylus, in fear of the curse her words may bring upon the house. Moreover, Agamemnon, standing apart at the left of the picture, shows as little artistic as psychological relation to the rest of the group; but omit that figure and the really beautiful inner harmony of the scene is at once apparent. The arms of Iphigenia, raised in supplication, and the upturned eyes of the bearded attendant, seem to unite the upper and the lower half of the picture, much as in the "Transfiguration" of Raphael the pointing hand of the disciple and the convulsive gaze of the epileptic boy link the scene in heaven with that on earth. There is, however, every probability that Agamemnon was depicted in the original composition, only in a manner less inconsistent with its spirit and with artistic unity.

With this picture we come to the end of the scant material offered for our study by the *Agamemnon*. At the opening of the *Choephoroi* we are immediately met by a different problem. The material at hand, though apparently abundant, is of an exceedingly elusive kind. What ought really to be connected with the play of Aeschylus, and what

¹ Pliny, *H. N.* 35, 73.

² Quintilian, 2, 13, 13.

merely represents a similar scene taken from the daily life of the people, from those ceremonies connected with the cult of the dead that we see recorded on the Athenian white lecythi? This is the question we must continually ask ourselves, for the same *motifs* are apparently used to illustrate both. The identification, however, of the particular theme with the general subject in the work of the vase-painter only reflects a deeper identity that lies at the heart of the play. Here in the scene in which the newly united brother and sister join with the chorus in summoning the unappeased spirit of Agamemnon to help them in the work of vengeance that must be executed in his name, Aeschylus gives the supremely poetic and final expression to the primitive Greek idea concerning the dead. That, in all its savage intensity, it actually represents the belief of his own day one can hardly affirm. It does give, however, in a highly wrought form, the quintessence of what lay at the root of popular religion and inspired the customs and beliefs pictured by the painters of funerary vases. The Greek of the fifth century, with a total disregard of that logic which only enters religion when the systematizing theologian begins to blur the traces of its manifold and unreconciled origins, thought of the dead as at once removed to the lower world and residing in his tomb. In the lower world he led a shadowy and helpless existence; in the tomb he was a powerful daemon whose tendency towards maleficent interference in the affairs of the living could be restrained only by constant attention to his needs.¹ Therefore these ceremonies at the tomb, these ornamental fillets and wreaths, and offerings of food and drink. Doubtless the Greek peasant returning from market to his country home at dusk and passing through the Ceramicus and out at the Dipylon gate, many a time believed that he had seen the dead mournfully seated upon the steps of their tombs, in the dejected attitude the vase-painter has made familiar to us.

It is this conception of the dead as a powerful tomb-haunting daemon that Aeschylus has emphasized in the *Choephoroi*. Here the moving force, the actual hero one might say, is just this spirit of the departed crying out for vengeance from the grave where he resides, working for

¹ Cf. A. Fairbanks, *Athenian White Lekythoi*, p. 354: "The objects which seem to be for the use of the dead, whether placed in the tomb or brought to the grave monument, indicate that the wants of the dead were conceived as practically identical with the wants of the living."

the destruction of his murderers, and not Orestes "prompted to his revenge by heaven and hell" and following unwillingly in the wake of an overmastering fate. On one of a series of Roman sarcophagi,¹ going back probably to some famous Greek painting,² the ghost of Agamemnon, mysteriously shrouded, actually appears at the door of the tomb, and beside it sleeps a Fury holding the axe of Clytemnestra. Here the painter has not illustrated the play; he has given an illuminating interpretation of its spirit. We cannot expect as much of the mere artisans who decorated the vases.

Yet, despite the very general way in which the vase-painter has treated his theme, there are certain points in the characterization of the individuals that he never forgets. The relative importance of Orestes and Pylades is always carefully indicated. The figure of Pylades is placed in a position of less prominence—he plays the part of the companion, the willing but not vitally interested friend, while on the purely sepulchral vases the figures bringing offerings are usually ranged symmetrically at either side of the tomb. Electra too is distinguished from her attendants, either by the signs of mourning,—the short hair and the black robe,—or by the prominence of her position in the centre of the composition, or yet more subtly, by the indication of the ravages of grief and ill-treatment that make Orestes recognize her among the band of mourners and exclaim:³

καὶ γὰρ Ἡλέκτραν δοκῶ
στείχειν ἀδελφὴν τὴν ἐμὴν πένθει λυγρῶ
πρέπουσαν.

A detailed examination of the vases will, I think, bear out these general statements.

The very opening of the play, the arrival of Orestes and Pylades at the tomb, is, I believe, depicted on a Campanian amphora in the British Museum (VI).⁴ On the ground, in front of a grave monument

¹ The sarcophagi are all discussed in K. Robert, *Die antiken Sarcophagreliefs*, Vol. II, pp. 165–177, pl. LIV–LVI.

² O. Benndorf, *Annali dell' Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*, XXXVII (1865), pp. 239 ff.

³ *Cho.* 16–18.

⁴ The catalogue of the British Museum gives no mythological interpretation of the scene.

in the shape of an Ionic column standing on a high plinth, a youth is seated clasping a staff between his hands. Before him, to the left and on slightly higher ground, stands another youth with hanging pilos, a spear in his right hand and a sheathed sword in his left. A chlamys is draped over his left arm. He seems to be addressing the spirit in the tomb. On the Berlin relief¹ Pylades is similarly seated in front of the grave, quite in the spirit of Aeschylus, a witness, but in no sense a participant in the scene. If both youths were merely worshippers at the grave, the careful differentiation between the two could have no meaning, but for Orestes and Pylades it is altogether admirable. After the long journey Pylades, not inspired by the larger emotions that exalt and sustain his friend, sits down wearily upon the ground. If the ancient shepherds were as prone to take their noonday rest in the shade of some convenient monument as are their modern descendants, the vase-painter may very well have taken this figure, which has a certain genre-like charm, from life, and not have borrowed it from his storehouse of inherited types. Orestes, on the other hand, moved by the sight of his father's grave, and conscious of his personal danger, invokes the help of Chthonian Hermes and addresses the dead spirit:²

τύμβον δ' ἐπ' ὄχθῳ τῷδε κηρύσσω πατρὶ
κλύειν, ἀκούσαι.

Although made in Campania, the picture probably brings us nearer to the time of Aeschylus than is at first apparent, for it belongs to a class of vases modelled in shape, technique, and treatment on the Attic Nolan amphora.³ Did the vase-painter in this case take over, ready made, the subject as well as the form? One cannot say with certainty, although there is something in the refinement and delicacy of the faces and the purity of outline in the figures that argues strongly in favor of this supposition.

The two vases that Overbeck⁴ wishes to associate with this opening

¹ *Mon. dell' Inst.* VI, pl. 57, 2.

² *Cho.* 4 l.

³ Cf. H. B. Walters, *History of Ancient Pottery*, I, p. 484: "There are a few peculiar fabrics which we may also attribute to a Campanian origin . . . imitations of Nolan amphorae reproducing both their form and their scheme of decoration."

⁴ J. Overbeck, *Gallerie heroischer Bildwerke*, p. 684, No. 7; p. 685, No. 8.

scene can, I think, be placed here only by a rather strained mythological interpretation. They show two youths at a grave. On one vase they merely stand at either side with an urn between them; on the other they are making offerings of a wreath and a cake. It is true that two male figures are rarely depicted at a tomb in a purely sepulchral connection;¹ on the other hand, the bringing of offerings by Pylades would be entirely out of keeping with the subsidiary role he is made to play in the tragedy; and as there is no attempt to differentiate the two in attitude or to suggest that one participates in the rites more fervently than the other, I think the interpretation as two ephebi at a stele is preferable.

With the withdrawal of Orestes and Pylades, Electra appears on the scene, followed by a chorus of women in wild lamentation. A hint of the gestures that accompanied this parodos, although not reflected in any of the vases connected with the trilogy, may be found in a sepulchral statue² that has come down to us, depicting a woman who wails and tears her hair, and in the figures on certain white Athenian lekythi.³ But according to the words of the poet, the grief of the chorus took on an even more violent and varied form than art could depict:⁴

ιαλτὸς ἐκ δόμων ἔβαν
 χοὰς προπομπὸς ὀξύχειρὶ σὺν κτύπῳ.
 πρέπει παρῆς φοινίους ἀμυγμοῖς
 ὄνυχος ἄλοκι νεοτόμῳ,
 δι' αἰῶνος δ' ἰγμοῖσι βόσκεται κέαρ.
 λινοφθόροι δ' ὑφασμάτων
 λακίδες ἐφλαδὸν ὑπ' ἄλγεσιν,
 πρόστερονι στολμοῖ
 πέπλων ἀγελάστοις
 ξυμφοραῖς πεπληγμένων.

¹ A. Fairbanks, *Athenian White Lekythoi*, p. 351: "In accordance with Greek practice the offerings are ordinarily brought by women; it is very rare to find two men at the tomb, though one of the figures is usually a man who seems merely to watch what is going on." Murray, *White Athenian Vases in the British Museum*, pl. V, however, shows two men in this position.

² *Mon. dell' Inst.* I, pl. 44.

³ Fairbanks gives a list of these on p. 352 of his *Athenian White Lekythoi*.

⁴ *Cho.* 22 ff.

A single vase (VII), on which the picture is divided between the two sides, shows the moment just before the meeting of brother and sister. A woman with her chiton drawn up over head, is engaged in tying a taenia about a stele (inscribed ΑΓΑΜΕ) which stands on a three-stepped base. Opposite her another female figure holds a basket of taeniae. On the reverse two youths are depicted, both with chlamys and hanging petasos, and carrying long staves. The one seems to hold back, while the other, Orestes, advances. This reluctance on the part of Pylades to participate in the coming scene of recognition is simply but effectively indicated, and gives a touch of individuality to a composition that otherwise approximates very closely to the general type of vases with sepulchral themes. The veiled woman is of course Electra¹ and the other probably an attendant, although the name of Chrysothemis has been suggested for her.

When we come to the actual meeting, and the scene that rises to a climax in the joyful greeting of brother and sister and the dedication of Orestes to the deed of murder and revenge, we find that art had anticipated the work of Aeschylus, and formulated it in a group remarkable for the profound expression of feeling. The conception can hardly have been original with the maker of the small and badly mutilated relief from Melos (VIII), but must represent either the culmination of a type that had been long developing, or the creation of some single great artist. The relief was probably made before the year 460 B.C.; but even if it could be dated later, the place of its manufacture and the fact that it diverges in certain important details from the Aeschylean version, prohibit our establishing any connection between the two. Electra (inscribed ΑΛΕΚΤΡ) is shown, seated in deep dejection on the step in front of a grave stele (inscribed ΑΜΕΕ). Her legs are crossed, and she leans her head, which is veiled, on her left hand. A pitcher for pouring libations is at her feet. Behind her stands an old woman likewise veiled, evidently the nurse. From the opposite side three men approach. The foremost has one foot raised on the steps of the monument, and, leaning over, is about to touch Electra's arm, while the second, at some distance, holds his hand thoughtfully to his chin. The

¹ Electra is similarly veiled on the earliest extant monument connected with this scene, the terra cotta from Melos, and on a series of vases from Southern Italy.

third with the baggage on his back, evidently a servant, shows no signs of participating in the scene. The horse in the foreground indicates that they are travellers. In spite of archaic severity and poor preservation, the emaciated figure of Electra, with its inwardness of grief, its absorption in thoughts of consuming melancholy, breathes a certain spirit of ruined nobility that we look for in vain on the works of the later vase-painters. They are not keyed emotionally to so high a pitch, nor are they so direct and concentrated in expression. Although Robert¹ gives the name of Talthybius to the man leaning over and touching Electra on the arm, I think, purely as a matter of feeling, that the tenderness of the gesture belongs rather to the brother than to the old servant, and the argument that the second youth, because he is obviously the most distinguished of the three, must therefore be Orestes, as Robert maintains, does not seem cogent. I prefer to follow those² who see in the three men Orestes, Pylades, and a servant. With this interpretation the beauty and consistency of the gamut of emotions becomes at once apparent, ranging as it does from the stolidity of the servant to the sympathetic aloofness of Pylades, and rising to a climax in the joyful eagerness of Orestes, thus brought into immediate contrast with the intense gloom of the unconscious Electra. We have here a conception of the recognition scene based, in all probability, as Robert³ has shown, on the *Oresteia* of Stesichorus and antedating, though not by many years, the drama of Aeschylus.

What then, we may ask, did the Aeschylean trilogy do, either to preserve and popularize what was already in existence, or to modify it and bring it into stricter accord with the version of the play? Strange to say, we must answer: At the time of its production nothing at all. A single vase (IX) of the second half of the fifth century preserves the tradition of the relief, but in a form that has lost both in individuality and intensity, and approximates rather to the scheme of the funeral lecythi. If, as Robert holds, this type of mourning woman was originally created to illustrate the myth of Orestes and Electra, then it appears early to have been divorced from this subject and applied to a

¹ K. Robert, *Bild und Lied*, p. 167.

² A. Conze, *Annali dell' Inst.*, 1861, pp. 340-348; H. Brunn, "Troische Miscellen," *Sitzungsber. d. k. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss. zu München*, 1887, p. 269.

³ K. Robert, *op. cit.*, chap. V.



ODYSSEUS AND PHILOCTETES AT THE HOUSE OF ALCIBIADES
 FIGURE 10. METEORUS MUSEUM D 33

variety of themes.¹ Electra becomes the prototype of all sorrowing women. She appears as the defunct, mournfully seated on the steps of her tomb, or as the faithful servant placed above her mistress's grave.² Penelope bidding farewell to Telemachos,³ and the mother parting from her warrior son,⁴ are no other than the original Electra. But another view is possible. The terra-cotta relief may represent the application to a particular myth of a type that at its inception had only a general funerary significance.⁵ Robert, however, has shown that the group of Thanatos and Hypnos carrying a dead body was originally created to illustrate the Sarpedon myth, and later received a more general application to sepulchral scenes;⁶ and as there is no actual proof of a contrary process having taken place in the case of the Electra type, the weight of evidence seems to be on the side of Robert's theory.

The single vase from the fifth century that illustrates the legend of Orestes and Electra in a manner recalling the terra-cotta relief is a white Athenian lecythus in the British Museum (IX), here published for the first time (PLATE I).⁷ It is in such a poor state of preservation that we must resort to the catalogue description for the details of color and costume. The drawing, as far as can be judged, is rather angular and lacking in freedom. Electra (the name was originally inscribed) sits on the upper step of a stele with one foot drawn up on the lower step, resting her left arm and right elbow on her raised knee, and supporting her chin on her right hand. She wears a black sleeveless chiton and a red himation. Orestes (name also originally inscribed) stands before her to the left, and extends his right hand as if in conversation. He

¹ Robert, *Bild und Lied*, p. 169, n. 18: "Wenn ein Zusammenhang zwischen den attischen Grab-Lekythen wirklich vorhanden ist, so würde ich mich keinen Augenblick scheuen, daraus die Konsequenz zu ziehen, dass der ursprünglich für Orestes und Elektra geschaffene Typus auf Szenen des täglichen Lebens übertragen sei."

² A. Furtwängler, *Collection Sabouroff*, pl. XV-XVII.

³ *Mon. dell' Inst.* IX, pl. 42.

⁴ *Museo Gregoriano*, II, pl. 19 (1st ed.); II, pl. 24 (2d ed.).

⁵ This is the view expressed by Furtwängler, *Coll. Sabouroff*, Vol. I, text to pl. XV-XVII.

⁶ K. Robert, *Thanatos*, pp. 4 ff.

⁷ For permission to publish this vase and for the photograph from which the plate was made I have to thank Mr. H. B. Walters.

wears a short chiton, chlamys, and petasos hanging at the back of his neck. To the right is an attendant carrying a large box or basket in her right arm and lifting the drapery from her shoulder with the left hand. Possibly it is due to the influence of the *Choephoroi* of Aeschylus that the old nurse is now consistently eliminated from the scene, and the youthful attendant substituted. This figure, with the rather meaningless gesture, becomes popular on South Italian vases, and seems to have been developed from that of a woman lifting a corner of her veil. Both the general resemblance in type and the essential difference in spirit between this vase and the relief are at once apparent. On the vase the climax is over, the recognition has taken place, and Orestes and Electra are found in conversation with one another. On the relief, on the other hand, we are, as it were, suspended between two moments representing the emotional extremes of joy and despair. Electra is still plunged in gloom, but let her feel that touch upon her arm and she will be raised to the heights of unbounded joy that in the play call forth the restraining words of Orestes:¹

ἔνδον γενοῦ, χαρᾷ δὲ μὴ ῥκπλαγγῆς φρένας.

One other vase (X) of the last quarter of the fifth century,² on which the figures are drawn in a large and noble style reminiscent of Phidian art, probably shows the same scene, but the scheme of the composition differs from that of the Melian relief. Electra, seated sideways, towards the right, on the plinth of a grave stele, looks up at Orestes who stands before her leaning on a staff. Her hair is shorn, and she wears no veil. Evidently they are conversing, for her right hand is extended in an expressive gesture. On the left side of the stele a servant holds a basket of wreaths and taeniae. Here even the attitude of dejection that indicated in a certain measure the mood of Electra has been abandoned. She expresses neither the joy of the moment nor the sorrow of her past life, and the scene, like the gatherings of sacred characters in Renaissance art, has been generalized to the extent of representing a mere "Conversazione."

With the end of the fifth century and the decline of the potter's art in Attica, we are forced to return to Italy in our search for further

¹ *Cho.* 233.

² A. Fairbanks, *White Athenian Lekythoi*, p. 138, dates it about 425 B.C.

material, and an amphora (XI) in Naples seems to mark the transition from the old to the new style. Although it has the characteristics of Lucanian vase-painting,¹ especially in the large type of head and somewhat coarse physiognomies, the combination of dignity with grace in the attitude of the figures, and the simple lines of the drapery, suggest, if not direct influence, at least reminiscences of Phidian art.² The composition speaks for itself without the inscriptions, which are open to suspicion.³ Electra sits towards the left, on the base of a stele inscribed with Agamemnon's name and surmounted by a helmet. The left leg is slightly raised, and she clasps the knee in an attitude of mild and dreamy dejection. Above her stands an attendant, exactly in the pose of the one on the Athenian lecythus IX. Orestes and Pylades approach from the right, the former somewhat in advance and extending his right hand as if addressing Electra, although there is nothing to indicate that she gives heed or is even aware of his presence. A youth, seated above at the extreme right, undoubtedly introduced merely to fill an unpleasing void, may be interpreted as a follower of Orestes. It is at once apparent that the treatment of the theme has again gained in individuality. Even omitting the inscriptions (the spurious addition of which is proof of the strong suggestion contained in the picture), we are in no danger of seeing in it merely a grave ceremony taken from the daily life of the people. With the introduction of Pylades the group now contains only those figures that the scene of the *Choephoroi* requires, and I think we are at last justified in perceiving a distinct connection, though not necessarily through the medium of the stage, between the drama and vase-painting.

A series of Lucanian vases, so closely connected in subject and style as undoubtedly to be the product of one factory, if not the work of a single artist, shows a somewhat different treatment of the theme, but one

¹ Characteristic of Lucanian ware are the rosette, the arms hung up in the field to fill space, and the use (on the reverse of this vase, published in Inghirami, *Vasi Fittili*, II, pl. 138) of small round stones to indicate the ground line.

² A. Furtwängler, *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture*, p. 108, refers to a class of vases in Southern Italy that "shows clearly how strong was the influx of Athenian art into Magna Graecia in the Phidian period, and how powerful was the stimulus it gave to fresh production."

³ H. Heydemann, *Vasensammlungen zu Neapel*, No. 1755, considers the inscription "Agamemnon" and possibly "Electra" genuine.

which, I think, can only be adequately explained by reference to Aeschylean conceptions. I shall discuss them in the following order:

Lucanian calpis, Naples 2858 (XII).

Lucanian calpis, Munich 814 (XIII).

Lucanian amphora, published by Inghirami, pl. 153 (XIV).

Lucanian amphora, Louvre 544 (XV), here published for the first time (PLATE II).¹

The composition of XII is the most extended and contains all the elements that appear, with only slight modifications, on the other vases. In the centre Electra, veiled, her head supported by her right hand, sits on the steps of a funeral monument in the form of an Ionic column. A taenia tied about the shaft, a variety of vases, a black taenia and a pomegranate lying on the three-stepped base sufficiently indicate the nature of the ceremonies that have been performed. To the left of the grave stands Orestes with a spear in his left hand and a phiale extended in the other, while Hermes occupies the corresponding position to the right. He is placed upon the base of the tomb, and leaning on his kerykeion, crowns the column with a wreath. Pylades is seated at the left, under the handle of the vase; he turns his head to look towards the centre. He holds a spear in one hand and a large pilos in the other. A bearded man with a staff stands directly behind Hermes, and a similar figure, wearing a close fitting cap and likewise carrying a staff, is seated, facing the centre, on a sack tied together at one end. He occupies the space under the right handle. The figure of a nude youth at the left, and that of a servant holding an alabastron at the right, complete the composition. All the figures, with the exception of Orestes and Electra who are drawn in three quarter view, look towards the centre. For a vase of so late a date the grouping is strangely symmetrical; nor is the picture animated by any unifying idea that would tend to counteract the unpleasing impression of its formal arrangement. Electra, in spite of the advent of her brother, and although placed at an angle that, of necessity, makes her aware of his presence, maintains the dejected attitude appropriate to the opening of the play. Orestes, on the other

¹ Permission to publish this vase and the photograph from which the plate was made were obtained through the kindness of M. Edmond Pottier.



ORESTES, ELECTRA, AND HERMES AT THE TOMB OF AGAMEMNON
LUCANIAN AMPHORA, LOUVRE 544

hand, is pouring a libation, a ceremony he could not have performed until after the recognition had taken place.¹ If, as has been suggested, an effigy or emblem of Hermes was actually placed at the tumulus when the play was performed,² his presence here on the vase is doubly accounted for, although the fact that he is invoked by both Orestes and Electra would seem sufficient explanation:³

Orestes. Ἑρμῇ χθόνιε, πατρῷ ἐποπτεύων κράτη,
σωτήρ γενοῦ μοι ξύμμαχος τ' αἰτουμένω.

Electra. κῆρυξ μέγιστε τῶν ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω,
Ἑρμῇ χθόνιε, κηρύξας ἐμοί,
τοὺς γῆς ἔνερθε δαίμονας κλύειν ἐμὰς
εὐχάς . . .

The introduction of a nude youth into a scene in which he is obviously out of place, merely in order to provide a counterpart to the female servant at the extreme right, does not show the inventive power of the artist in a favorable light. There is, however, an imaginative touch in the figure of the retainer, whose foreign appearance, in combination with the baggage upon which he is seated, at once suggests the further development of the plot: the disguise, by means of which Orestes and Pylades penetrate into the interior of the palace.⁴ In the bearded man immediately behind Hermes we must probably see the Paedagogus and admit into an Aeschylean scene a character derived in all probability, either directly or indirectly, from the *Electra* of Sophocles. No other interpretation suggests itself, and yet it is difficult to explain his presence on any other ground than the deliberate choice of the vase-painter; for by a slight shifting of the remaining figures the composition could easily have been extended to its present dimensions, and the decorative requirements equally well fulfilled. He does not reappear on any of the vases that represent abbreviations of this picture.

On XIII the composition is reduced to seven figures. Pylades and the Paedagogus are omitted, the retainer with the baggage transferred

¹ The pouring of a libation by Orestes is not alluded to in the text of the play. It might, however, have taken place during the kommos without special mention.

² T. G. Tucker, *The Choephori of Aeschylus*, p. xxxii: "The opening scene is the tumulus of Agamemnon with an effigy or emblem of Hermes."

³ *Cho.* 1 f. and 124 ff.

⁴ Cf. Huddilston, *Greek Tragedy in the Light of Vase-paintings*, p. 50.

to the left, and a seated female attendant holding a box takes his place on the right. The attitude of Hermes is the same, but he now stands on the ground instead of on the step of the monument, and Orestes holds a pitcher. There are unessential modifications in the poses of the end figures.

Only four of the characters are present on XIV. To the right of Electra stands Hermes, identical with the one on vase XII, except that the right hand holds no wreath. The servant at the extreme right of XII and XIII has been moved to a position directly behind Hermes, and now lifts her drapery with the left, and an alabastron with the right hand. Orestes, with a cantharus in his hand, occupies the left field.

The picture on XV (PLATE II), which consists of only three figures, — Electra seated on a high five-stepped monument, surmounted by a Doric column supporting a crater, with Orestes to the left and Hermes to the right, — appears to be an excerpt from the larger composition of XIII, from which it differs only in unessential details. Orestes holds a cylix, and the position of Electra is slightly shifted towards the left. On all the vases there are minor variations, which I have not noted, in the shape of the monument and the nature and number of the offerings and vases placed upon the steps.

It would be idle to seek for a basic composition among a series of pictures in which the elements are rather aligned than composed, and the meaningless figures of serving men and women represented in preference to characters of such primary importance in every version of the myth as Pylades, who is omitted on all but the most comprehensive treatment of the story (XII). Electra is everywhere the same figure of gentle and resigned melancholy, pensively leaning her head upon her hand. She is still the direct descendant of the old Electra of the Melian relief, but one feels that she has survived rather as a type than as an individual; for all the stern and tragic intensity has vanished with the emaciated form. Here the limbs are rounded, the body gracefully bent under the weight of affliction. She appears rather a burdened than a bitter and rebellious spirit. This emotional attenuation is the price she has had to pay for her long apprenticeship as the universal type of mourning, during which she seems to have been recreated in the milder spirit of the ideas which, towards the middle of the fifth and in the fourth century, centred around the conception of the dead.

That the vase-painters of Southern Italy were capable of more dramatic feeling, the pictures connected with the *Eumenides* will show.

The servant seated on the baggage offers the link that binds the picture most closely to the *Choephoroi*, for by his presence emphasis is laid on a feature that, so far as we know, is purely Aeschylean, and one upon which hinges the whole development of the plot: the disguise of Orestes and Pylades as Daulian merchants.¹

A vase (XVI) that shows the moment before the recognition ought perhaps to have been commented upon earlier, but I have relegated it to this position because the type of the Electra connects it very closely with the series we have just been discussing. She is seated in the familiar attitude on the steps of an aedicula, holding a large jar in her lap. Orestes, with a gesture indicative of surprise and pleasure, approaches from the right, while Pylades, with a nice sense of differentiation is made to stand quietly on the other side of the monument and look back upon the scene.²

By the help of this picture we may interpret another (XVII), which, at the first glance, seems rather to reflect the version of Sophocles than that of Aeschylus. Compared with the somewhat dull adherence to a type, one might almost say to a formula, in some of the vases reflecting the *Choephoroi*, this one is vivified by an imaginative strain of unusual freshness and charm. The artist has here succeeded in giving a poetic suggestion of the momentary emotion without introducing the note of exaggeration that mars so many of the dramatic vase-paintings.³ The grave monument, bound with a black taenia, occupies the extreme left of the picture, and Electra, a noble, rather matronly figure in a black chiton, her hair cut short, stands beside it, looking towards Orestes, as if his arrival had interrupted her ministrations at the grave. She holds a black taenia in the right hand, and a large hydria ornamented with a taenia and branches in her left arm. Orestes leans forward upon his spear, and looks smilingly into his sister's eyes, as if trying to draw from her a joyful recognition of his identity. It is the moment when Electra, who has previously accepted too confidently the uncertain evidence of

¹ *Cho.* 674: OP. ξένος μὲν εἶμι Δαυλιᾶν ἐκ Φωκίων.

² This attitude, although sufficiently motivated here, becomes a positive mannerism on late South Italian vases.

³ I refer particularly to the vases based on Euripidean and post-Euripidean plays.

the footsteps and lock of hair, now hesitates before the assurance brought her by his words:¹

αὐτὸν μὲν οὖν ὄρωσα δυσμαθεῖς ἐμέ·
κουρὰν δ' ἰδοῦσα τήνδε κηδείου τριχὸς
ἰχνοσκοποῦσά τ' ἐν στίβοισι τοῖς ἐμοῖς
ἀνεπερώθης κἀδόκεις ὄραν ἐμέ.

But, were it not for the evidence of the vase previously discussed, on which she holds in her lap a jar of similar proportions, it might be argued that the size of the hydria is inconsistent with the offices that Electra actually performs at the grave,² and suggests rather the moment in the *Electra* of Sophocles when Orestes, after having handed his sister the bronze urn containing, supposedly, his own ashes, demands it back with the words:³

μέθες τόδ' ἄγγος νῦν, ὅπως τὸ πᾶν μάθῃς.

In reality, however, the picture shows more serious inconsistencies with the version of Sophocles than with that of Aeschylus. In the play of Sophocles the meeting of brother and sister does not take place at a tomb, and on the only certain illustration of his *Electra* that we possess⁴ the vase-painter has avoided any indication of locality. He has further been at pains to emphasize the fact that the urn which Orestes holds out to Electra is of bronze, by giving the rim a shape that is found only in metal vases. I think, therefore, that the inspiration of our vase may be sought far more justly in the lines I have quoted from the *Choephoroi*.

Must we still recognize Orestes and Electra on a bell-crater in the British Museum (XVIII)? Perhaps so, although we have travelled very far away from the tragic conception of Aeschylus. Electra, in a some-

¹ *Cho.* 225 ff.

² In the play she is evidently thought of as pouring a libation from a small, light vessel, for she inquires of the chorus whether she is to throw it away (*Cho.* 96 ff.):

ἢ σὺγ' ἀτίμως, ὥσπερ οὖν ἀπώλετο
πατήρ, τὰδ' ἐκχέασα, γάμποτον χύσιν,
στείχω, καθάρμαθ' ὥς τις ἐκπέμψας, πάλιν
δικοῦσα τεύχος ἀστρόφοισιν ὄμμασιν;

³ Sophocles, *El.* 1205.

⁴ Crater, published J. Overbeck, *Gall. Her. Bild.*, p. 693, No. 19, pl. XXIX, 6; Inghirami, *Vasi Fittili*, II, pl. CXLIII.

what modified form of the now familiar attitude of mourning, sits upon a very large striped cushion; but her appearance, no doubt under the influence of the love scenes so prevalent on South Italian vases, has indeed undergone a change "into something rich and strange." Her hair is curled, she wears a radiated ampyx, necklace, pendant, and bracelets. Her elbow no longer rests upon her knee, but the hand is brought up to the veil with a gesture which, in combination with her adornment, gives her more the appearance of a bride than of an afflicted princess reduced to the condition of a slave. Orestes, with spear in one hand and sheathed sword in the other, stands at the left, and a servant or, perhaps, — in view of the richness of her costume and the jewelry she wears — Chrysothemis at the right, with mirror and pyxis. The vase has been introduced into the discussion more for the sake of tracing the continuity of type than because it stands in any inner relation to the *Choephoroi*.¹

¹ I have not included the discussion of an interesting unpublished Campanian amphora (*Boston Museum of Fine Arts Report*, 1899, p. 84, No. 99-540) in the main part of this article, because it cannot be connected with the Aeschylean version. In fact it does not coincide with the version of any of the three great tragedians. Electra, clad in a black chiton and scanty himation, her hair cut short, appears in front of a house (indicated by a platform and a column) with a hydria in one hand and a taenia in the other. Were it not for the taenia, one would at once connect the picture with the play of Euripides, in which Electra, as the wife of a peasant, goes to fetch water, but this badge of mourning seems to indicate that she is bound for the tomb of Agamemnon. The gesture of her right hand, furthermore, indicates that she has caught sight of Orestes and Pylades, who are engaged in conversation at the left of the picture and are apparently unaware of her presence. But this is not the case in any of the extant dramatic versions. Electra is always surprised by her brother, and the vase-painters never take liberties with this essential feature of the story. One must therefore conclude that this vase illustrates an otherwise unknown version of the Orestes myth.

I have also omitted two vases which Overbeck connects with the meeting of Orestes and Electra at the tomb of their father, because I do not feel convinced that they represent more than an ordinary funerary scene. On the first (Overbeck, *Her. Bild.*, p. 686, No. 11; Millin-Reinach, *Peintures de Vases*, II, pl. 51; Inghirami, *Vasi Fittili*, II, pl. 156; Raoul-Rochette, *Monuments inédits d'antiquité figurée*, p. 159, n. 4) a maiden with a taenia and a platter of offerings stands at one side of a stele, and opposite her a youth, wearing a chlamys and hanging petasos, holds a spear in one hand and a wreath, with which he appears to be crowning the monument, in the other. Two vases stand on the base of the stele and another hangs in the back-

The remaining scenes of the play, into which so much of bloodshed and moving dramatic contrast is compressed, find no reflection in the vase-painter's art. The murder of Aegisthus had received its lasting expression in a composition formulated before the days of the great tragedians, and, in all probability, under the influence of the *Oresteia* of Stesichorus. Its widespread popularity is attested by the fact that it has survived in whole or in part on no less than seven¹ vases of the early fifth century. The archetype of all these pictures Robert reconstructs in the following manner:² "Orestes, fully armed, plunges his sword into the breast of Aegisthus. Clytemnestra rushes to the assistance of her husband brandishing an axe; a warning cry of the frightened Electra . . . calls the attention of her brother to the danger that threatens him from the rear and he glances backward, but the aged Talthybius has already hurried to his rescue and disarmed Clytemnestra." A group, combining in more masterly fashion the elements both of unity and contrast, can hardly be imagined. Electra and Talthybius, at either end of the composition, are united by the concentration of their terrified interest upon the same point, the axe of Clytemnestra; while in the centre the eyes of the mother, frustrated in her

ground. On the second vase (Overbeck, *op. cit.*, p. 687, No. 12; Inghirami, *op. cit.*, II, pl. 142; D'Hancarville, *Antiquités étrusques, grecques et romaines*, IV, pl. 52), the maiden alone is busy at the tomb placing offerings on the steps from a phiale that she holds in her hand, while the youth, who has a spear in his right hand and a cloak draped over the left arm, gazes vacantly into space. The absence of any accessory figures, such as usually appear on the South Italian vases connected with the recognition scene, and the typical and unemotional manner in which the offices at the tomb are performed warrant us in rejecting a mythological interpretation for these pictures.

¹ K. Robert, *Bild und Lied*, p. 149, gives six examples, to which the fragmentary amphora now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (Robinson, *Cat.* No. 419) must be added. In the catalogue description of the vase, the scene is interpreted as the death of Orpheus contaminated by the "Aegisthus" type, because the seated figure wears a long chiton and holds a lyre in one hand. But the picture otherwise corresponds to the most complete representation of the murder of Aegisthus by Orestes — Talthybius, Clytemnestra, and Electra are all present — and Orpheus, in legend and art, meets his death at the hands of women and not of a man. The lyre does not necessarily characterize a Greek as a professional poet or minstrel, and if we have here an actual case of contamination it ought surely to be stated in the opposite way, as the murder of Aegisthus contaminated by the Orpheus type.

² K. Robert, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

murderous attempt, meet those of the son, who plunges his sword into the heart of her paramour, in a glance of ferocious hatred. The dramatic and emotional climax is complete. As far as we know, this picture continued to dominate the popular imagination, even after a succession of dramatic poets had presented a variety of versions. So far as I am aware, it appears only once on vase-paintings later than the production of the *Oresteia*. A late vase from Bari (XIX) represents it in the following manner. Orestes seizes Aegisthus, who is seated on a throne, by the nair and stabs him in the breast. Behind Orestes, Clytemnestra appears with the double axe. To the right, behind Aegisthus, Pylades departs with drawn sword, and a woman, resembling Clytemnestra in dress and attitude, rushes up with a foot-stool lifted in her hand. This, according to Furtwängler,¹ must be Electra, who in her passion has come to take a hand; and he further suggests that her active participation in the scene shows the influence of tragedy upon the conception of her character. But the influence at work must, of course, be that of Sophocles and Euripides, not Aeschylus, in whose play she has no share either in the planning or the execution of the murder, and appears upon the stage for the first and last time in the scene at the grave.

Here the motif of Clytemnestra attempting the life of her son is preserved from the vases created under the influence of older poetry; and this older type, so compact and forceful in expression, was never, so far as we can judge, replaced by any inspired by the writings of the dramatic poets.² But Aeschylus himself, at one moment in the *Choephori*, seems to stand in a peculiar relation to this older version. Clytemnestra, when she hears of the murder of Aegisthus, calls out:³

δοίη τις ἀνδροκμήτα πέλεκυν ὡς τάχος·
εἰδῶμεν εἰ νικῶμεν ἢ νικώμεθα.

A servant departs, and before he can reënter with the weapon Orestes appears, Clytemnestra makes the maternal appeal, shows him the breast

¹ *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*, 1888, p. 1451.

² Even on the Roman sarcophagi (K. Robert, *Die antiken Sarcophagreliefs*, Vol. II, pl. LIV-LVI) which undoubtedly illustrate the *Oresteia* of Aeschylus, Aegisthus is killed seated ἐν θρόνῳ πατρός, as in the older pictures. These sarcophagi belong to the time of Hadrian and so show the survival of the motif in the second century A.D.

³ *Cho.* 889 f.

at which he was nurtured, and throws herself upon his mercy. Why, we must ask ourselves, does Aeschylus introduce this demand for a weapon which is never brought and plays no part in the final scene? Robert¹ in commenting upon the passage says: "Aeschylus eliminated the dreadful motif of the mother's raising her axe against her own son, whom she may or may not have recognized; but this tradition was so strong, and had impressed itself so deeply upon the imagination of the people, that he felt bound at least to refer to it with the words 'δοίη τις ἀνδροκμήτα πέλεκυν ὡς τάχος.' Here we see the independently creative artist in conflict with poetic legendary tradition." But I venture to think that the explanation here given is too exclusively archaeological. If Aeschylus, a resourceful and daring playwright, really felt the need, at the very height of the tragedy, of throwing a meagre sop to a possible conservative element by thus referring to older tradition, what, one must ask, would have been the actual psychological effect upon the spectators? Would they have been more impressed by the apparent concession to tradition, or by the contrast between what is implied in the call for arms and what really takes place when mother and son are brought face to face? Aeschylus, in thus contrasting the old savage motif with the more humane one, meant, I believe, to throw the emphasis on the latter, and by causing a sudden revulsion of feeling in his audience, to make the emotional effect of the scene all the more poignant. At the words *δοίη τις ἀνδροκμήτα πέλεκυν ὡς τάχος* a picture of the attack of mother upon son, much as we see it in the old vase-paintings, involuntarily flashes into the mind of the listeners. They are prepared for a scene of horror, in which the unnatural ferocity of Clytemnestra enlists all the sympathies on the side of Orestes. The weapon, however, is never brought. Orestes appears, and Clytemnestra, abandoning all thought of self-defence, appeals to him in the sacred name of motherhood. For the moment the sympathies of the audience flow back to the mother, who pleads, not alone to preserve her life, but also to justify it in the eyes of her son. Two primal instincts are aroused in Clytemnestra: to save herself from death and from the moral condemnation of her son. Aeschylus first shows her to us as the woman of savage but magnificent courage, brought to bay by an enemy whose identity she has not yet recognized. Her spirit is that of

¹ K. Robert, *Bild und Lied*, p. 161.

Macbeth, who never so nearly attains to heroic stature, as when, abandoned and aware of "the equivocation of the fiend that lies like truth," he exclaims:

"Arm, arm and out:—

If this which he avouches does appear,
There is nor flying hence, nor tarrying here.
I'gin to be a' weary of the sun,
And wish the estate o' the world were now undone.—
Ring the alarum-bell. Blow wind! Come wrack!
At least we'll die with harness on our back."

Clytemnestra too wishes to die with "harness on her back."

Aeschylus, however, who in the first play of the trilogy emphasizes the maternal passion of Clytemnestra, will not let her pass from the stage without a resurgence of this emotion. But Orestes has both the hardness and the delicate scruples peculiar to youth and innocence, and while, on the one hand, he cannot understand or sympathize with the temptations that solitude and a sense of wrong had brought to her, when she pleads:¹

ἀλλ' εἴφ' ὁμοίως καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ σοῦ μάτας·
ἄλγος γυναιξὶν ἀνδρὸς εἶργεσθαι, τέκνον·

he will not, on the other hand, name the sin she has committed. When he accuses her of having sold him and she demands that he state the price she received in return he says:²

αἰσχύνομαί σοι τοῦτ' ὀνειδίσαι σαφῶς.

Instinctive pity, not understanding, prompts him momentarily to spare her life, but when he finally fulfills the command laid upon him by Apollo he seems in spiritual accord with it and so responsible for his deed.

Although there are no representations of Clytemnestra's appeal to Orestes on extant vases, the design on an Etruscan mirror (XX) makes it extremely probable that the motif was not invented by Aeschylus, but was taken over by him from some poem sufficiently well known in the early part of the fifth century to have influenced popular art. The

¹ Cho. 918 and 920.

² Cho. 917.

mirror evidently repeats the design on the interior of an Attic cylix¹ that, on stylistic grounds, can hardly be dated later than 470 B.C. The picture accords perfectly with the version of Aeschylus, and the names of Orestes (Urusthe) and Clytemnestra (Clutumsta) are inscribed. It is possible, but extremely improbable, that the engraver of so archaic a mirror was sufficiently well acquainted with the play of Aeschylus to have adapted to this subject a design originally depicting another myth.

It is also to the *Choephori* that we must look, I think, for the suggestion of a vase-picture (XXI) illustrating no actual scene, but the event that takes place prior to Orestes's return and inspires the action of the play,—his visit to Delphi. In the centre Apollo, with lyre in one hand and a laurel branch in the other, sits upon the omphalos, which is decked with taeniae. Directly in front of him to the left, with one foot raised, stands Orestes, his gaze fixed in rapt and solemn attention upon the prophetic god. Over the left shoulder he carries a spear and in his right hand he holds a sword, as if consecrating it to the deed of vengeance. Behind Apollo appear Pylades, as always in the vase-paintings inspired by Aeschylean conceptions a mere spectator, and the Pythia seated upon the tripod and holding a taenia. A female figure, standing close to Orestes, cannot be named with any certainty. The gesture of her left hand indicates that she is in some way actively connected with the scene, but perhaps merely as an officiating priestess.²

¹ Cf. H. B. Walters, *History of Ancient Pottery*, II, p. 307: "Apparently the red-figured vases which were imported into Etruria in such large numbers in the fifth century served as prototypes, not for their paintings, but for the engraved mirrors. . . . The interior designs of the kylikes, perfected by Epiktetos, Euphronios, and their contemporaries, served as obvious models for disposing a design in a circular space; and they had in the subjects a mythological repertory ready to hand."

Compare the attitude of Orestes with that of Achilles on the interior of the Troilus cylix, published by P. Hartwig, *Die griechischen Meisterschalen des strengen roth-figurigen Stils*, pl. LVIII, LIN, 1.

² I have given the interpretation suggested by Bötticher, *Arch. Zeit.*, 1860, pp. 50 ff., which seems to me most in harmony with the spirit of the composition, but scholars have expressed widely divergent opinions. Heydemann (*Vasensammlungen zu Neapel*, No. 1984) and Jahn (*Vasenbilder*, p. 9) see in it Orestes consecrating his sword at Delphi on his return from Tauris; Rochette (*Mon. Inéd.*, p. 187) and Overbeck (*Iller. Bildw.*, p. 715) see in the scene the purification of Orestes in the presence of Electra after the murder of Clytemnestra. The attitude of Orestes and the calm expression of his face hardly seem consistent with such an interpretation.

The probable connection of this vase with the trilogy is further strengthened by the fact that Orestes pursued by the Furies is depicted on the reverse.

The *Choephori* ends as Orestes, who has assumed the suppliant's emblems, the bough and chaplet, rushes from the stage pursued in imagination by the Erinyes of his mother, and the retiring chorus asks the question that is to find its answer in the *Eumenides*:¹

ποῖ δῆτα κρανεῖ, ποῖ καταλήξει
μετακομισθὲν μένος ἄτης;

With the last play of the trilogy we come to the creation of Aeschylus that left its impress most clearly upon the vase-painter's art, and supplied him not alone with a new subject, but with an entirely novel type. For, although the conception of the Erinyes belonged to the most primitive element in Greek religion, Aeschylus, by bringing them upon the stage, was the first to give them a bodily presentment fixed in all the details of feature and costume.²

In the speech of the Pythian priestess, whose tottering reappearance from the interior of the temple and excited words, from a dramatic point of view, serve admirably to enhance the atmosphere of foreboding and suspense that prepares the audience for the sudden revelation of the interior of the temple, Aeschylus, as it were, creates this new type before our mental vision:³

πρόσθεν δὲ τάνδρὸς τοῦδε θαυμαστὸς λόχος
εὐδὲι γυναικῶν ἐν θρόνοιςιν ἤμενος.
οὔτοι γυναῖκας, ἀλλὰ Γοργόνας λέγω,
οὐδ' αὖτε Γοργείοισιν εἰκάσω τύποις.
εἰδὼν ποτ' ἤδη Φινέως γεγραμμένας
δείπνον φερούσας· ἅπτεροί γε μὴν ἰδεῖν
αὐται, μέλαινα δ' ἐς τὸ πᾶν βδελύκτροποι·
ρέγκουσι δ' οὐ πλατοῖσι φνυσιάσμασιν·
ἐκ δ' ὀμμάτων λείβουσι δυσφιλῇ λίβα·

¹ *Cho.* 1075 f.

² Cf. J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*², p. 231: "Aeschylus then, we may safely assert, first gave to the Erinyes outward and visible shape, first differentiated them from Keres, Gorgons, or Harpies."

³ *Eum.* 46 ff.

καὶ κόσμος οὔτε πρὸς θεῶν ἀγάλματα
φέρειν δίκαιος οὔτ' ἐς ἀνθρώπων στέγας.

But we must avoid a too unimaginative literalness in trying to reconstruct for ourselves the appearance of these Furies. By adding together all the features of Gorgons and Harpies that ancient art has preserved,¹ we can hardly hope to create a type that will actually correspond to what Aeschylus brought upon the stage. Horror is in no such mathematical sense the sum of all its parts, and if Aeschylus had really only produced a composite picture of what was already familiar, it is inconceivable that he should have so terrified his audience. It is far more probable that the sight of certain features, hitherto associated only with the supernatural, in combination with a more human countenance, aroused the horror and disgust of which exaggerated accounts have come down to us in literature.² What the essential features in their appearance were, we are already told in the *Choephoroi*:³

δμῳαὶ γυναῖκες, αἶδε Γοργόνων δίκην
φαιοχίτωνες καὶ πεπλεκτανημέναι
πυκνοῖς δράκουσιν·

and

ἄναξ Ἀπολλων, αἶδε πληθύουσι δῆ,
καὶ ὀμμάτων στάζουσιν αἷμα δυσφιλές.

The Pythian priestess adds that their flesh as well as their garments was black, and that unlike the Harpies, whom they otherwise resembled, they had no wings. Apollo calls them:⁴

γραῖαι παλαιὰ παῖδες.

These features, which are the only ones that the text of the play forces us to associate with the Erinyes, all appear, with the exception of the blood oozing from the eyes, on one or another of the vases dealing with the flight of Orestes, and I think the weight of this negative evidence may at least be brought to bear against the suggestion that

¹ This is the method of K. Böttiger, "Die Furiemaske," *Kleine Schriften*², Vol. I, pp. 189-277.

² *Vita Aeschyli*, p. 4 (Dindorf).

³ *Cho.* 1048 ff. and 1057 f.

⁴ *Eum.* 69.

Aeschylus portrayed them with the distended mouth and protruding tongue of the typical gorgoneion.¹

Of the Harpies, to whom he likens the Furies, Aeschylus himself must have given some word picture in his early play *Phineus*,² and extant monuments have preserved for us some indications of the character of the painting that he refers to in the lines:³

εἰδὼν ποτ' ἤδη Φινέως γεγραμμένας
δείπνον φερούσας, ἄπτεροί γε μὴν ἰδεῖν,

for we possess a series of vase-paintings of the Phineus myth, beginning with a black-figured cylix and ending with an extended composition on an early Italian amphora of the fourth century, that, by unusual excellencies either of drawing or conception, show evidence of reflecting the contemporary art of painting.

On the cylix of the sixth century⁴ both Harpies and Boreadae fly through the air propelled each by two enormous pairs of wings and winged boots. If Aeschylus had some such archaic painting in mind, and it is quite as reasonable to suppose that he refers to an old and famous work as to a newly executed one, the feature most clearly distinguishing his Furies from their artistic prototypes would certainly be their winglessness.

A Nolan amphora now in the British Museum,⁵ probably dating from the decade preceding the production of the play, although falling far

¹ O. Müller, *Die Eumeniden*, p. 185.

² Nauck, *Trag. graec. frag.*², fr. 260, gives a much restored passage from Philodemus, *De pietate*, p. 18.

³ *Eum.* 50 f.

⁴ B. F. cylix, Würzburg, 354, Furtwängler und Reichhold, *Die griechische Vasenmalerei*, I, p. 209, pl. 41. Furtwängler gives an interesting estimate of the artistic merits of the vase: "Unter allen altertümlichen Darstellungen aus dem dionysischen Kreise ragt die Phineus-Schale hervor. Sie ist unerreicht durch die Lebendigkeit, durch die Frische und die Originalität ihrer dionysischen Bilder. . . . Weder attische noch chalkidische Vasen bieten etwas, das sich künstlerisch mit der Phineus-Schale messen liesse. Sie gehört zu den bedeutendsten altertümlichen Malereien die uns erhalten sind, und sie lässt uns ahnen, was uns von alter Kunst verloren ist, indem wir sonst, statt der Arbeit eines wirklichen Künstlers wie diese, in der Regel nur handwerksmässige Dekorationen auf den älteren Vasen besitzen."

⁵ British Museum E 302, *Cat.* III, p. 219; *Arch. Zeit.*, 1880, p. 138, pl. 12, 2.

below the other vases of this series in artistic merit, suggests, by its incompleteness, that it must be an excerpt from a larger picture. Phineus, enthroned *en face* beside the depleted table, stretches out his right arm and turns his head toward a Harpy, who makes off to the left with food and drink. Her equipment for flight consists of a single pair of wings. The apprehensive glance she casts backward is without meaning, unless we assume that the original painting included the pursuing Boreadae.¹

That a Greek artist of very unusual distinction busied himself with the Phineus myth early in the second half of the fifth century is shown by an oenochoe from Sicily,² that can hardly be dated before 430 or much after 420 B.C. At the left of the picture a Harpy lies at the feet of the seated Phineus, her limbs relaxed and head reversed in utter exhaustion or death. At the right two Boreadae bind a second Harpy, who, though fallen to her knees, offers desperate resistance. The pathos and the fiery, almost excessive energy of the painting awaken surprise in us who are dependent primarily upon sculpture for our conceptions of Greek art, and therefore look for these characteristics in the products of the fourth rather than in those of the fifth century. If, now, we compare these Harpies with the Furies on a South Italian crater of about the same date,³ we find the two almost identical, both in general conception and in details of costume, save that the former are winged and the latter have snakes coiled in their hair. Their features are beautiful and majestic, without a touch of brutishness or ferocity, and they both wear short chitons, heavy studded belts with crossed shoulder straps, and high hunting boots. Art, therefore, seems

¹ J. H. Huddilston, *The Attitude of the Greek Tragedians towards Art*, p. 16, says in commenting on this vase: "The painting is at any rate but a very few years earlier than the production of the *Eumenides* and is, moreover, so closely in harmony with the εἶδος . . . φερούσας of Aeschylus that one is inclined to connect the two in some way. It is not too much to conclude that the two were dependent on one and the same original." There is nothing, however, in this rather uninteresting vase-picture to suggest a famous original such as we must assume that Aeschylus had in mind; and contemporaneity is not, I think, a sufficiently strong argument to connect the vase with the *Eumenides*.

² *Monumenti Antichi*, XIV, 1904, pp. 75 ff., pl. V.

³ No. XXII.

to have accepted the partial analogy between Harpies and Furies which Aeschylus indicates at the opening of the *Eumenides*.¹

Perhaps it was during the heat of the first discussions aroused by the production of the play, that the idea of presenting this popular theme upon his wares occurred to the painter of a calpis (XXV) which can hardly be dated much after the production of the trilogy. And yet, although the nearest to Aeschylus in point of time, it is by no means the most faithful to the play. Orestes kneels on a small altar composed of rough stones, and there is neither omphalos nor laurel tree to indicate that the scene takes place at the Delphic sanctuary. His face, seen from the front, has the distraught and roving glance of a maniac. Of the suppliant's emblems he wears only the wreath. The drawn sword is here, as always, in his hand, and with his left arm, about which he has wrapped his chlamys, he tries to defend himself against the attacks of the onrushing Erinyes. Snakes writhe in their hands and bind their hair like fillets. They are wingless, and the foremost, who wears the short chiton of a huntress, and over it a fringed jerkin with cross straps, seems to resemble closely the Erinyes enstaged by Aeschylus. The second, whose figure was placed farther towards the side of the vase, and therefore treated with less care, wears only a sleeveless chiton. Artemis seated, bow in hand, upon a rock, occupies the corresponding position at the left, and Apollo, standing by the side of Orestes, holds a laurel branch in his right hand and extends the other as if to repel the persecutors of his suppliant. Apart from its chronological importance the vase has little to commend it. The drawing is both awkward and careless and the composition disjointed. Apollo's commanding gesture loses all significance if not interposed between Orestes and his pursuers. But the presence of Artemis is significant, and cannot be attributed to the random choice of a vase-painter seeking for a figure to complete his group. Had that been the case, he would naturally have selected one of the divinities more closely connected with the action of the drama: either Hermes, who is directly addressed by Apollo in line 90 and

¹ The design on a South Italian crater, published *Mon. dell' Inst.* III, pl. 49, although it reproduces a Greek original, seems to have suffered the contamination of local Italic art; hence the brutish features of the Harpies cannot be taken as characteristic of Greek conceptions. Daemons of all kinds in the native religion were so represented.

strangely enough never appears on any of the vases,¹ or Athena, who, as the dominant character in the play, was actually introduced into a number of the Delphic scenes. Were this the only appearance of Artemis one might be inclined to pass it over as accidental. She occupies a prominent position, however, on two of the finest vases dealing with the subject (XXII and XXVI), products, it is true, of Southern Italy, but one of them at least (XXII) representing pure Athenian tradition. In the play itself, on the other hand, there is no mention of her, not even in the opening prayer of the Pythian priestess. Hauser² suggests that the goddess may have been introduced into a revised version of the play enacted in Southern Italy, where the scene on the Areopagus, full as it is of local patriotism, might have proved unacceptable to the audience. But the Berlin calpis (XXV) is of Attic make and Hauser himself has pointed out the close relation between the crater (XXII) and Athenian art, and so we must seek the explanation of her presence rather in the tradition, both popular and literary, that connected the twin sister of Apollo with his sanctuary at Delphi.

The crater (XXII) contains another feature, the purification of Orestes, which seems to point towards the connection of the vase with the *Eumenides* as literature rather than as an acted play; for unless we accept the possibility of a pantomime performance³ of the ceremony upon the stage at the end of the first episode, we must seek for the painter's inspiration in the lines:⁴

μητροκτόνον μίasma δ' ἐκπλυντον πέλει.
ποταίνιον γὰρ ὃν πρὸς ἐστίμῃ θεοῦ
Φοῖβον καθαρμοῖς ἡλάθη χοιροκτόνοις.

There is everything in this lovely vase, one of the few from Italy unsurpassed by even the best that Attica produced, to suggest either that its decorator was himself a man of unusual attainments, or that his work reflects some larger painting. Orestes sits on the altar with his back to

¹ This would lend color to Verall's suggestion (*The Eumenides of Aeschylus*, p. lv) that Hermes was only invoked and did not actually appear upon the stage.

² Cf. Furtwängler und Reichhold, *Die griechische Vasenmalerei*, II, p. 332.

³ This is the suggestion of F. Hauser, text to Furtwängler und Reichhold, *Die griechische Vasenmalerei*, II, p. 333.

⁴ *Eum.* 281 ff.

the omphalus, and holds his right hand with the drawn sword towards his chin. Here, under the influence of the god, madness seems to have given way to a brooding melancholy. Apollo, standing behind Orestes on the steps of the altar, holds above his head the pig whose dripping blood is to bring purification if not absolution from guilt. At the right stands Artemis, in the usual costume of the chase, a quiver on her back and two spears over her shoulder. At the left a Fury emerges from the ground, roused by the ghostly Clytemnestra, who appears above, shrouded and veiled, and touches upon the forehead one of the two Furies who sleep in each others' arms. She seems to utter the reproach:¹

εὐδοίτ' ἄν, ὦή, καὶ καθενδουσῶν τί δέϊ;

These Furies, with their majestic Phidian loveliness, have only the snaky locks and hunting costume to betray their baleful nature. The flow of their draperies and the postures of their limbs seem haunted, like a reminiscent melody, by the rhythm of the sculptures of the Parthenon. The Fury who rises from the ground might be Gê as she appears on the cylix of Erginus.² The introduction of the angry and implacable ghost of the murdered mother into this scene of purification is the painter's means of suggesting the idea developed in the *Eumenides*: the inability of the Delphic god to grant final absolution from a crime executed at his own instigation and express command. Artemis, beautiful as she is, stands in no integral relation to the rest of the group.

A crater in St. Petersburg (XXIII) definitely connects the purification with the opening scene of the play by introducing the figure of the Pythian priestess, holding the temple key and in flight towards the left. The artist has chosen a somewhat earlier moment than the one depicted on the crater in the Louvre. Apollo appears to be hastening, with laurel branch and phiale, towards Orestes, who kneels upon the four-sided altar in the familiar attitude of the maddened fugitive, while at the right a winged Fury halts in her pursuit and enters into angry altercation with the god. Here, as on a number of other vases, we have introduced into a purely Aeschylean scene the winged type of avenging spirit made familiar by Euripides.

¹ *Eum.* 94.

² *Wiener Vorlegeblätter*, I, pl. 5; H. B. Walters, *History of Ancient Pottery*, II, fig. 112.

A third vase (XXIV) gives the scene in a still more abbreviated form. Only Apollo and Orestes are actually represented, but the latter, who kneels upon the square altar¹ and embraces the omphalos, looks to the left and extends his drawn sword in that direction in a manner to suggest the immediate appearance of the pursuing Fury. In this way, although not actually included in the scene, her presence is implied and an element of suspense rather cleverly, though perhaps accidentally, introduced. Apollo, who is nude save for a chlamys draped over the left arm, sprinkles the suppliant from a phiale with laurel leaves. A *bucranium* in the field further indicates the temple.

There is one other vase (XXVI), besides the two already mentioned, upon which the figure of Artemis appears, and we seem here for the first time to catch a glimpse of an actual stage representation of the play. It is a delightfully dramatic little composition in the style, if not actually from the hand, of the painter Assteas.² The artist fairly revels in picturesque elaborations. Three ornate Ionic columns supporting an architrave, and a conelike omphalos covered with the *agrenon* do not suffice to indicate the Delphic temple; two tripods are crowded into the composition and the laurel tree rises from the temple floor. Votive offerings of chariot wheels and helmets hang from the rafters. At the left, a Fury drawn in black silhouette with snakes in her hair and wound about her arms, appears from behind a column. We seem to see her rushing through the air in her swift but wingless flight:³

ὑπὲρ τε πόντον ἀπτέροις ποτήμασιν
ἦλθον διώκουσ', οὐδὲν ὑστέρᾳ νεώς.

Orestes, hair and chlamys flying, has thrown himself upon the omphalos. The Pythia raises her hands in horror, the key drops to the ground, and she rushes out of the sanctuary to the left. Apollo, clasping his bow in one hand and extending the other in a splendid gesture of command, interposes between the Fury and her prey as if with the words:⁴

¹ The inscription is meaningless and modern.

² For a similar mannerism in the drawing of the hands and treatment of the drapery we may compare the Pythia with Megara on the crater in Madrid representing the madness of Heracles (published *Mon. dell' Inst.* VIII, pl. 10).

³ *Eum.* 250 f.

⁴ *Eum.* 179 f.

ἔξω, κελεύω, τῶνδε δομάτων τάχος
χωρεῖτ', ἀπαλλάσσεσθε μαντικῶν μυχῶν.

At the right Artemis, standing on tiptoe on a sculptured base,¹ shades her eyes and spies out the cause of the confusion, while her two dogs, scenting the unholy presence, raise their heads and utter a dismal howl.

This picture, with its abounding life, its noise, crowding, and confusion, although lacking in tragic dignity, suggests admirably the excitement of a dramatic performance, and in the setting, no less than in the spirit of the scene, we may, I believe, see actual reminiscences of the stage. In the economy of the vase-painter's art, the locality of the action is usually suggested in as abbreviated a form as possible. Sometimes a single column suffices to indicate a temple, or a diminutive building, introduced into a corner of the composition, serves the same purpose.² But here the three equidistant columns, supporting a long architrave, seem to recall a scenic background.³ Whether we are to think of this as the proscenium of a stageless theatre, or as the superstructure of a raised stage it is difficult to say. The manner in which the Pythia runs out of the temple towards the front might incline one to the former view, but it is futile to attempt a reconstruction of the stage from a vase-picture which, although reminiscent of an actual performance, certainly gives no literal transcription of a scene.⁴

¹ The figure of Artemis has almost the appearance of an animated statue. An archaic statue of Artemis with two dogs appears on the Pompeian wall-painting (I) representing the sacrifice of Iphigenia (cf. W. Helbig, *Campanische Wandgemälde*, No. 1304).

² Cf. the vase published by Stephani, *Compte-Rendu*, 1872, pl. 1, with a representation of the dispute between Athena and Poseidon.

³ Cf. the background on the "Phryakes" crater from Lentini, published *Mon. dell' Inst.* IV, pl. 12; *Wiener Vorlegeblätter*, Series B, pl. III, 2.

⁴ Attempts to use the vase of Assteas representing the mad Heracles throwing his child into the flames (*Mon. dell' Inst.* VIII, pl. 10) as evidence concerning the existence of a stage in the fourth century B.C. have led scholars to diametrically opposed conclusions. Bethe, *Fuhrbuch des k. deutschen archäologischen Instituts*, XV (1900), pp. 66 ff., argues that we must consider the picture as a reproduction of a two-story, box-like stage, the substructure of which has not been represented by the vase-painter. Graef, *Hermes* 36 (1901), p. 88, in opposing Bethe, declares that this vase has nothing to do either with Euripidean or post-Euripidean tragedy. Engelmann, *Archaeologische Studien zu den Tragikern* (1900), p. 12, ingeniously uses this and other vases in support of Dörpfeld's theory of a stageless theatre.

That a vase-painter could reflect the influence of the stage, and yet keep himself free from its spirit is, I believe, shown on a vase (XXVII) which, while it mirrors the costumes and trappings of the theatre, breathes none of its atmosphere of tension and excitement. But this, far from reflecting on the ability of the artist, shows him rather as a man of independent judgment and spiritual insight. He chose to introduce Athena into the scene at Delphi, finding the suggestion for her presence not only in the further development of the play, but in the emphasis laid upon her connection with the sanctuary by the Pythian priestess:¹

τούτους ἐν εὐχαῖς φροιμάζομαι θεούς·
Παλλὰς προναῖα δ' ἐν λόγοις πρεσβεύεται·

and he felt that the proximity of the deity who was to bestow the final pardon on Orestes must free him, for the moment, from the terror of madness. Therefore Orestes does not kneel upon the omphalus as the distraught suppliant, but looks quietly up at Athena who, standing at his left with one foot raised,² appears to bend down and engage him in conversation. She wears helmet and aegis, in addition to a long cloak and a chiton heavily embroidered in theatrical fashion. Apollo, with a long cloak fastened over one shoulder, stands on the other side of the omphalus in front of the laurel tree, on which hang taeniae and votive pinakes, and glances down at an insolent Fury. The attitude of these two figures suggests the colloquy that in the play takes place after Orestes has left for Athens. About this Fury, with her wings of disproportionate size, her ornate costume of the hunt, and large coiling snake, seems to hang the atmosphere of the property room. The second Fury, who appears above the tripod that rises behind the omphalus, is unwinged but plentifully supplied with snakes; they encircle her hair, start from her shoulders, and coil in her hand. A veiled female half-figure in the upper right hand corner probably represents Clytemnestra, the spirit hostile to Orestes, while the corresponding youthful warrior at the left may represent Pylades, his mortal champion. Though the figure

¹ *Eum.* 20 f.

² The attitude is an unusual one for Athena. To my knowledge it can be paralleled only by the figure on a gem, published by Furtwängler, *Die antiken Gemmen*, pl. XXVII, 57.

of the young Apollo is a splendid artistic creation and Athena is imbued with truly divine majesty, the picture has some minor defects, characteristic quite as much of the age and country as of the individual artist. He is careful of details, yet often careless of reality. The embroidery of the robes and the scales of Athena's aegis are beautifully reproduced, but it is difficult to believe that Orestes could long maintain his position on the omphalus, or that the wings of the Fury were, as they appear to be, attached to a single shoulder.¹

The same figures appear in different grouping on two other vases. The one (XXVIII) derives its chief interest from the curious use the painter has made of monumental types. In the centre Orestes kneels upon a high altar, and to the right, Apollo, with a wreath in his long curling hair and a laurel branch in his right hand, leans upon a pilaster quite in the easy manner of the Praxitelean god.² He glances quietly at Orestes, but is not concerned with the Fury who appears to the right in the upper field of the picture, wingless and armed with a spear, and seems to recoil before the stern glance and commanding gesture of Athena.³ The extended left arm of the goddess is draped with the aegis, which thus serves the double purpose of protecting the suppliant on the altar below and repulsing his pursuer. She is helmeted and leans upon a spear with her right hand. Between Athena and the Fury a small seated Nike is interposed. She faces the former and points towards her with an object, probably meant to represent a palm-leaf fan. The peculiar manner in which Athena here assumes the part properly belonging to Apollo, in freeing the sanctuary from the presence of the Erinyes, hints at the possibility that the vase-painter allowed his choice of types to dominate his conception of the scene, for the outstretched arm of Athena at once suggests command, and the relaxed position of Apollo the passive rôle he is made to play.

The other vase upon which Athena appears (XXIX) is a calpis of late date and no artistic merit, interesting only on account of the variant type of Erinyes it introduces. Orestes sits on the ground with his back

¹ Von Rohden, in Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, p. 2007, attributes the vase to Assteas or his school.

² Compare the statue of Apollo, S. Reinach, *Répertoire de la Statuaire grecque et romaine*, I, p. 241, No. 948 C.

³ Cf. the archaistic statue in Naples, S. Reinach, *op. cit.* I, p. 227, No. 848.

to the omphalus. He clutches the leg of a large tripod with his left hand, and looks back at his tormentor who, winged and dressed in a long chiton, holds a scourge¹ and is wreathed about with snakes. In her heavy drapery and quiet demeanor she no longer represents the swift pursuers, the wrathful hounds of his mother as Orestes calls them,² μητρὸς ἔγκοτοι κύνες, but a kind of avenging angel, like the Poinae who scourge offenders in the lower world. Apollo sits at the right facing the Fury, and Athena stands beside him.³

If chronological considerations have forced us first to discuss those pictures on which the vase-painter has enlarged upon the Aeschylean scene, and united several successive incidents in order to produce a more effective composition, we have still to study a late vase (XXXI) from Southern Italy which shows not only fidelity to a single moment in the play, but faithfully represents the Erinyes as Aeschylus conceived them. Black-skinned, with scanty white hair⁴ framing their ugly faces, and wingless, they lie, five in number, sleeping about the temple, — a small herōon supported by Ionic columns. The frenzied Orestes with sword and scabbard in either hand sits upon the altar embracing the omphalus. To the right the priestess departs with a backward glance and gesture of horror. The execution is careless in the extreme, but in the appearance of the Erinyes the painter has succeeded in suggesting, with a realism that we are wont to consider foreign to his art, the pecul-

¹ The scourge in the hand of the Erinyes is not wholly un-Aeschylean. Orestes, in enumerating the punishments with which Apollo has threatened him if he fail to avenge his father, mentions the χαλκήλατος πλάστιγξ of the Erinyes.

² Cho. 1054.

³ There is another vase (XXX) with Athena in the composition, but as it has not been published and its whereabouts is unknown, I merely quote for the sake of completeness, the description from the *Cataloghi del Museo Campana*, Ser. IV, No. 16: "Vaso a colonnette, figure gialle. Oreste supplica nel tempio d' Apollo. Coperto di clamide e col pilo viatorio dietro le spalle, ha nella destra la spada, si rifugia all' ara di Delfo, rappresentata da sei grandi pietre. Presso del medesimo sta Apollo che in espressivo atto vieta il progredire più oltre alla furia alata, recante in ciascuna mano un serpente. Pallade ancora prende in tutela il figlio di Egisto (?). Al di sopra del capo di Oreste si vede nel campo un bucranio colle vitte, emblema dei sacrifici e della celebrità dell' ara, alla quale si è refugiato."

⁴ Aeschylus does not actually depict the Erinyes as white-haired, but the suggestion for such a conception is contained in the epithet Apollo applies to them, *Eum.* 69, γράϊαι παλαιαὶ παῖδες.

iar repulsiveness of the Aeschylean creation. These creatures have no affinity with any other type. They are as far removed from the archaic gorgoneion as from the idealized Furies of other vase-paintings, and the extraordinarily natural manner in which the relaxation of sleep is portrayed suggests that the artist either drew his inspiration from life or copied, however rudely, the work of some more important master. Their equipment, too, seems to differ from what we have found on other vases. Instead of the torches, swords, scourges, or even spears of other Erinyes, they carry a short staff or wand, a feature that we know to have characterized them, although it is never mentioned by Aeschylus. Indeed, if there is any truth in the story narrated by Lycophron,¹ our Apulian vase-painter may have witnessed, at some time, a curious ceremony performed by the inhabitants of the town of Dardanus. In the monologue which bears her name, Cassandra prophesies that the maidens of this village, when they wish to escape matrimony, will take refuge at her shrine disguised as Furies, and she ends with the words:

κείναις ἐγὼ δηναιὸν ἄφθιτος θεῶ
ῥα βδελφύροις γυναιξὶν ἀδηθήσομαι.

The remaining vases that deal with Orestes at Delphi, although they bring the evidence of numbers to testify to the hold that the third play of the trilogy had upon the popular imagination, offer no new points of view for our study, and so, without multiplying descriptions that must of necessity resemble each other in their essential features, I shall select those minor details that seem worth commenting upon.

A picture (XXXII) that represents the same moment as the St. Petersburg crater contains only three figures, and offers a good example of the shorthand that vase-painters sometimes employ when they wish to treat a subject in a condensed manner. Orestes kneels upon a box-like altar and two laurel sprays in the field serve to indicate the locality as Delphi. A single Erinys armed with a torch and a curious crooked sword represents the host of his pursuers. The priestess, as usual, departs in precipitous alarm.

The artist who placed a charming little composition on the neck of a crater in Berlin (XXXIII) has proved himself more master of his own craft than of Delphic tradition, for he has seated Apollo, who inter-

¹ Lycophron, *Alexandra*, 1131 ff.

poses between Orestes and the Fury, upon the tripod of the Pythia,¹ while she escapes towards the right accompanied by a temple attendant carrying a platter. Here, too, the impression of frantic haste in the suppliant's flight is conveyed with particular success by the convulsive, but not ungraceful, manner in which he has thrown himself upon the altar with head reversed and rolling eyes.

But it remains for a toy crater in Vienna (XXXIV) to supply an element of humor that may not be wholly unconscious. The vase is wretchedly executed and would not deserve mention were it not for its subject. Orestes kneels upon the altar in such a way as to interpose the omphalos between himself and the Fury, and so seems to rely for protection rather on the bulk than on the sanctity of the object he embraces. A large dog follows in the wake of the pursuer, the only visible embodiment upon vase-pictures of the conception of the Furies as hounds of the chase.

An extended composition on the neck of a crater in St. Petersburg (XXXV) shows a charming variety in the attitudes of the Erinyes, who appear in groups of two at either end of the picture. Orestes is at the altar in the centre, his divine protector by his side, while the nearer Fury to the left rushes towards him in stormy pursuit. The further one, half sunk in the ground, her head thrown back and arm uplifted, is to all appearances the ecstatic Bacchante, a type that the vase-painter, in his search for novelty, has simply borrowed. Those on the right have already entered into the bitter controversy with Apollo, and the one who stands before him with a long wand might be uttering the accusing words:²

ἄναξ Ἀπολλων, ἀντάκουσον ἐν μέρει.
αὐτὸς σὺ τούτων οὐ μεταίτιος πέλει,
ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ πᾶν ἔπραξας ὦν παναίτιος.

Upon a vase in Copenhagen (XXXVI), much like the fifth century crater (XXII) in general conception, though falling immeasurably be-

¹ Apollo in his mantic capacity occupies the omphalos, not the tripod, as Hermes relates in the *Ion* of Euripides, 5 ff.:

ἦκω δὲ Δελφῶν τήνδε γῆν, ἵν' ὀμφαλὸν
μέσον καθίζων Φοῖβος ὑμνῶδεῖ βροτοῖς,
τὰ τ' ὄντα καὶ μέλλοντα θεσπίζων ἀελ.

² *Eum.* 198.

low it in execution, the group is again composed of Apollo, Orestes, and the pursuers, one of whom rises from the ground with flying hair and snakes writhing about her arms.

A guttus (XXXVII) and an askos (XXXVIII), decorated in relief, probably carry us further into the third century than any of the other vase-pictures, but the type of the composition remains unaltered. Orestes, with one knee upon the ground, embraces the omphalos and stretches out his right hand, armed with the sword, to defend himself against the attacking Erinyes.¹

On three vases (XXXIX, XL, XLI) the composition has been reduced to a formula of pursuit, in which Orestes, attacked by a Fury on either side, defends himself with sword held in the right hand and scabbard in the left. It is interesting to note that in the conception of the vase-painters it was evidently the presence of the god Apollo, and not the sanctity of omphalos and altar, that protected the suppliant from the Erinyes, for on two pictures, although he kneels at the holy of holies, they attack him with snake and torch. On the third vase (XLI) we seem to see Orestes on the long wanderings that led him ultimately to Athens and the ancient image of the goddess. That the scene is not at Delphi, but in the open, is shown by the pebbles used to indicate the ground-line. Both Erinyes attack him with snakes, but his head is averted from the one who holds in her left hand a mirror that reflects the image of his murdered mother. Finally, in one instance (XLII) Orestes flees before a single winged Erinyes.

In the *Eumenides*, as the last of the trilogy, we move out of the darkness into the light, and in every scene the note of hope is sounded more strongly, until we emerge into the final brightness of the acquittal and the solemn pageant that establishes the Erinyes as *Σεμναί* in their cavernous dwelling. The arrival of Orestes at the sanctuary of Athena is not depicted on the vases,² but there seems to be a faint echo of the

¹ On the askos the Erinyes is not actually represented. In her stead a snake darts out at Orestes. This must, I think, be taken rather as a symbolic or abbreviated representation than a return to the primitive conception of the Erinyes as a snake. For illustrations of this conception on early Greek pottery see J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, pp. 235-237.

² Verrall, in his edition of the *Eumenides*, p. liii, expresses the view that the interior of the temple was not revealed at all in the first act. But here, if anywhere, I think the evidence of the vases ought to be considered. They represent only the scene at the omphalos.

trial on a calpis in St. Petersburg (XLIII). Here the result of the trial, rather than the trial itself, is depicted. It is indeed difficult to recognize in this curled and richly dressed youth the desperate fugitive from torment and pursuit, or the implacable Erinyes in the graceful maidens that resemble the daughters of Atlas sporting about the golden apple tree.¹ Their transformation into beneficent powers is already complete, and not even the emblems of snake and torch remain to mark their former identity.² Orestes, crowned with laurel and carrying two spears in his right hand, stands in front of the urn into which Athena has just cast her vote. He appears to be conversing with the goddess, who faces him and stands in the centre of the picture on a somewhat higher level. She wears helmet and aegis and carries a spear. A small Nike flies towards her to indicate the triumph of her decision. Gê,³ identified by an enormous snake that curls over her arm and rises in a loop behind her head, sits at the right and looks towards Orestes. An Erinyes stands in front of her, leaning on her knee. Another is seated above to the right and three more occupy the field to the left. Hermes stands at the extreme right, but Apollo, whose presence suggests itself far more naturally, is omitted.⁴

With this vase we have come to the last link in the chain that connects the *Oresteia* of Aeschylus with the art of the vase-painter, and, in looking back, we must ask ourselves how close a bond we have succeeded in establishing between the two. Of the *Agamemnon* we have found no traces on monuments that represent purely Greek tradition. On the other hand, do the many typical representations of Orestes and Electra at the grave of their father really go back, consciously and directly, to the *Choephoroi* of Aeschylus, or rather to a form of the

¹ Cf. the vase of Meidias, Furtwängler und Reichhold, *Die gr. Vasenmalerei*, pl. 8.

² Of course, in the absence of all emblems, the identification as Erinyes cannot be certain.

³ A statue of Gê stood in the sanctuary of the Semnae on the Areopagus, Paus. 1, 28, 6.

⁴ An entirely different interpretation, but one that seems to me less probable in view of the large urn placed between Athena and the youth, has been suggested by Heydemann and taken up by Crusius (Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der Mythologie*, art. Kadmos, pp. 839-840). They see in this picture Athena encouraging Cadmus before his combat with the dragon.

myth, ancient in its origin, that first inspired and then reabsorbed the conceptions of the poets, Xanthus, Stesichorus, and Aeschylus? Doubtless among the people at large the legend, as Aeschylus had told it, was known to many who had never heard of the poet; just as the stories of Shakespeare's plays, quite dissociated from his name, are repeated in parts of rural England. But it was not to this class that the vase-painters catered. The pictures are almost invariably found on large vases that served a partly useful, partly ornamental purpose in the houses of the rich and cultured population of Southern Italy; and if they demanded and liked these representations it was doubtless on account of their literary and theatrical associations. There is, however, nothing in the pictures to suggest that the vase-painter had either seen an actual representation of the play or done more than familiarize himself, in a general way, with the drama he was called upon to illustrate.

But in the representations of the opening scene of the *Eumenides* there breathes an entirely different spirit. The momentary emotion, — the terror of the priestess, the exhaustion of the suppliant, the indignation of the affronted god, — seem to have been caught from the living picture of the stage and reproduced, often with striking fidelity. And in view of the number of vases we have been able to associate with this scene, we are justified in maintaining that no other single creation of the tragic poets exerted so marked an influence on the vase-painter's art.

LIST OF MONUMENTS¹

THE AGAMEMNON

The Sacrifice of Iphigenia

I. Pompeian wall-painting in Naples.

Raoul-Rochette, *Monumens Inédits*, p. 135, pl. 27; Helbig, *Campesische Wandgemälde*, p. 283, No. 1304; Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, I, fig. 807.

The Murder of Agamemnon

II. Cylix (Attic severe r. f.), Berlin, No. 2301.

Archaeologische Zeitung, 1854, pl. 66, 2; Robert, *Bild und Lied*, pp. 150, 178.

¹ In this list I have noted the principal monuments which I have discussed, with brief bibliographical references for each. The Roman numerals are the ones used in the text in referring to the monuments.

- III. Calyx Crater (Campanian), St. Petersburg, No. 812.
Millin-Reinach, *Peintures de Vases Antiques*, I, pl. 58; Overbeck, *Galerie heroischer Bildwerke*, p. 680, No. 3; *Arch. Zeit.*, 1854, pl. 66, 3; Stephani, *Compte-Rendu*, 1863, p. 43.
- IV. Etruscan cinerary urn.
Rochette, *Mon. Inéd.*, p. 145, pl. 29; Brunn, *Urne Etrusche*, I, pl. 74, 2; Overbeck, *Her. Bildw.*, p. 682, No. 5, pl. 28, 3; Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, I, fig. 22.
- V. Etruscan cinerary urn.
Brunn, *Urne Etrusche*, I, pl. 85, 4; *Ann. dell' Inst.*, 1868, Tav. d'agg. N.
- THE CHOEPHORI
- Orestes and Pylades at the Grave of Agamemnon*
- VI. Amphora (Campanian of the Nolan type), British Museum, F 143 (*Cat. IV*, p. 70, fig. 21).
- The Meeting of Orestes and Electra at the Grave of Agamemnon*
- VII. Scyphus (Lucanian).
Inghirami, *Vasi Fittili*, II, pl. 140; Rochette, *Mon. Inéd.*, p. 151; Overbeck, *Her. Bildw.*, p. 687, No. 14.
- VIII. Terra cotta relief from Melos, Louvre.
Rayet, *Catalogue de la collection d'antiquités du Louvre*, 8; *Mon. dell' Inst.*, VI, pl. 57, 1; Conze, *Ann. dell' Inst.*, 1861, pp. 340 ff.; Robert, *Bild und Lied*, pp. 167 ff.
- IX. Lecythus (white ground), British Museum, D 33 (*Cat. III*, p. 399).
PLATE I.
- X. Lecythus (white ground).
Inghirami, *Vasi Fittili*, II, pl. 157; Rochette, *Mon. Inéd.*, p. 156, pl. 31 A.
- XI. Amphora (Lucanian), Naples, No. 1755.
Millingen-Reinach, *Peintures de Vases Antiques*, pl. 14; Inghirami, *Vasi Fittili*, II, pl. 137; Rochette, *Mon. Inéd.*, p. 151; Overbeck, *Her. Bildw.*, p. 687, No. 13; Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, III, fig. 1939.
- XII. Calpis (Lucanian), Naples, No. 2858.
Inghirami, *Vasi Fittili*, II, pl. 151; Rochette, *Mon. Inéd.*, p. 159, pl. 34; Overbeck, *Her. Bildw.*, p. 688, No. 15, pl. 28, 5; Huddilston, *Greek Tragedy in the Light of Vase-paintings*, p. 48, fig. 2.
- XIII. Calpis (Lucanian), Munich, No. 814.
Inghirami, *Vasi Fittili*, II, pl. 154 (incomplete); Huddilston, *Gr. Tragedy, etc.*, p. 52, fig. 3.

- XIV. Amphora (Lucanian).
Millingen, *Vases Coghill*, pl. 45; Moses, *Vases Englefield*, pl. 20; Inghirami, *Vasi Fittili*, II, pl. 153; Overbeck, *Her. Bildw.*, p. 690, No. 16.
- XV. Amphora (Lucanian), Louvre, No. 544.
PLATE II; cf. Huddilston, *Gr. Tragedy, etc.*, p. 54.
- XVI. Medallion Crater (Lucanian), Naples, No. 1761.
Millingen-Reinach, *Peintures de Vases Antiques*, pl. 16; Inghirami, *Vasi Fittili*, II, pl. 139; Rochette, *Mon. Inéd.*, p. 158, pl. 31; Overbeck, *Her. Bildw.*, p. 685, No. 9, pl. 28, 7.
- XVII. Vase, formerly in the Hamilton Collection.
Tischbein, *Hamilton Coll.*, II, pl. 15; Inghirami, *Vasi Fittili*, II, pl. 141; Overbeck, *Her. Bildw.*, p. 686, No. 10.
- XVIII. Bell Crater (South Italian), British Museum, F 57 (*Cat. IV*, p. 40).
D'Hancarville, *Hamilton Collection*, II, pl. 100.
- The Murder of Aegisthus*
- XIX. Pitcher (Apulian), Bari, not published.
Discussed, Furtwängler, *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*, 1888, p. 1451.
- The Murder of Clytemnestra*
- XX. Etruscan mirror.
Overbeck, *Her. Bildw.*, p. 704, No. 38; Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel*, II, No. 237.
- Apollo's Command to Orestes*
- XXI. Nestoris (Lucanian), Naples, No. 1984.
Rochette, *Mon. Inéd.*, p. 188, pl. 37; Overbeck, *Her. Bildw.*, p. 715, No. 56, pl. 29, 11; *Arch. Zeit.*, 1860, pl. 138, 1; Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, II, fig. 1307.
- THE EUMENIDES
- The Purification of Orestes at Delphi*
- XXII. Bell Crater (South Italian), Louvre.
Mon. dell' Inst., IV, pl. 48; Overbeck, *Her. Bildw.*, p. 714, No. 55, pl. 29, 7; *Arch. Zeit.*, 1860, pl. 138, 2; Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, II, fig. 1314; Furtwängler und Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, pl. 120, 3.
- XXIII. Bell Crater (Apulian), St. Petersburg, No. 1734.
Stephani, *Compte-Rendu*, 1863, p. 213, cf. p. 259, No. 12.
- XXIV. Bell Crater (Lucanian), British Museum, F 166 (*Cat. IV*, p. 84).
Ann. dell' Inst., 1847, Tav. d'agg. X; Overbeck, *Her. Bildw.*, p. 716, No. 58, pl. 29, 12; *Arch. Zeit.*, 1860, p. 62, pl. 137, 3.

Orestes takes Refuge at Delphi

- XXV. Calpis (Attic r. f., early fine style), Berlin, No. 2380.
Arch. Zeit., 1884, pl. 13.
- XXVI. Amphora (South Italian, style of Assteas), Naples, No. 3249.
Jahn, *Vasenbilder*, pl. I; Bötticher, *Berliner Winckelmannsprogramm*, 1859, pl. 1; Huddilston, *Greek Tragedy, etc.*, p. 61, fig. 6.
- XXVII. Calyx Crater, formerly in the Hope Collection.
Millin-Reinach, *Peintures de Vases Antiques*, II, pl. 68; Overbeck, *Her. Bildw.*, p. 712, No. 54, pl. 29, 9; Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, II, fig. 1315.
- XXVIII. Amphora (Apulian), Vatican, Helbig, *Führer*,² II, No. 1238.
Rochette, *Mon. Inéd.*, p. 90, pl. 38; Overbeck, *Her. Bildw.*, p. 711, No. 53, pl. 29, 8; *Arch. Zeit.*, 1860, pl. 137, 4, cf. pp. 54 ff.; *Arch. Zeit.*, 1884, pp. 199 ff.
- XXIX. Calpis (Campanian), Berlin.
Arch. Anz. V (1890), p. 90, No. 8; J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*,² p. 231, fig. 51.
- XXX. Celebe, Louvre (?), not published.
Described, *Cataloghi del Museo Campana*, Ser. IV, No. 16; cf. Stephani, *Compte-Rendu*, 1863, p. 260, 13; *Arch. Zeit.*, 1884, p. 206.
- XXXI. Calyx Crater (Apulian), St. Petersburg, No. 349.
Stephani, *Compte-Rendu*, 1863, pp. 251 ff., pl. VI, 5.
- XXXII. Amphora (Apulian), Collection Jatta.
Rochette, *Mon. Inéd.*, p. 419, pl. 76, 8; Minervini, *Bull. Nap.*, II (1844), p. 141; Overbeck, *Her. Bildw.*, p. 707, No. 43, pl. 29, 5.
- XXXIII. Volute Crater (Apulian), Berlin, No. 3256.
Rochette, *Mon. Inéd.*, p. 193, pl. 35; Gerhard, *Apulische Vasenbilder*, pl. A, 6; Overbeck, *Her. Bildw.*, p. 710, No. 52, pl. 29, 4.
- XXXIV. Toy crater, Imperial Cabinet, Vienna.
Arch. Zeit., 1877, pl. 4, 1, cf. pp. 17, 137.
- XXXV. Volute Crater (Apulian), St. Petersburg, No. 523.
Bull. Nap., II (1844), pp. 107 ff., pl. 7, 1.
- XXXVI. Bell Crater (Apulian), Copenhagen.
Thorlacius, *Vas Pictum, etc.* (Copenhagen, 1826); Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, II, pl. 13, No. 148; Gerhard, *Metroön*, pl. II, 2 (only Orestes and the omphalos); Smith, *De Malede Vaser i Kjöbenhavn*, p. 81; Overbeck, *Her. Bildw.*, p. 710, No. 51.
- XXXVII. Guttus with relief, not published.
Described, Brunn, *Bull. dell' Inst.*, 1853, p. 165.
- XXXVIII. Askos with relief, British Museum, G 48 (*Cat.* IV, p. 245), not published.

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- XXXIX. Vase, formerly in the Hamilton Collection.
Tischbein, *Second Hamilton Collection*, III, pl. 23; Overbeck, *Her. Bildw.*, p. 707, No. 42, pl. 29, 10.
- XL. Rhyton.
D'Hancarville, *Antiquités étrusques, grecques et romaines*, II, pl. 30, 31; Overbeck, *Her. Bildw.*, p. 707, No. 44.
- XLI. Nestoris (Lucanian), Naples, No. 1984.
Rochette, *Mon. Inéd.*, p. 186, pl. 36; Overbeck, *Her. Bildw.*, p. 706, No. 41, pl. 29, 2.
- XLII. Bell Crater (South Italian).
Millingen, *Vases Coghill*, pl. 29, 1; Overbeck, *Her. Bildw.*, p. 705, No. 40, pl. 29, 3.

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- XLIII. Calpis, St. Petersburg, No. 2189.
Stephani, *Compte-Rendu*, 1860, pp. 99 ff., pl. V.